

CULTIVATING FREEDOM:
AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AGENCY AT THE CLEMENS FARM

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

“In the northwest corner of the township, there exists a colored settlement, the foundation of which was laid by a man named Clemens” (Beers et al. 1880:449)

On the wide, flat, agricultural landscape of west-central Ohio, a brick farmhouse stands empty. It is empty of residents, empty of daily life—but it is not empty of history. A combination of historical, architectural, and archaeological research has brought to light the rich history that this dwelling represents. James and Sophia Clemens made this farmhouse their home after settling in Ohio, leaving behind an environment of slavery in Virginia.

The Clemens were free persons of color, released from enslavement during the Antebellum period—the early to middle 1800s. In 1822, James Clemens purchased land and began operating a lucrative farm in Dark County, Ohio, on which he and his wife established a new identity for themselves (Miller 1983:76). Beyond being successful in their own agricultural endeavors, the Clemens also helped to found the community of Longtown, in which they lived. It served as a refuge for other free people of color, and was a collaborative multiracial community, with residents of Euro-American, African-American, and Native American descent (Miller 1983:76). Donald Ball and W.E.B. Du Bois both allude to the tri-racial quality of Longtown, but this refers to individuals who have mixed or uncertain ancestry, some likely with Native Americans as ancestors (i.e. James Clemens) but without a stated tribal affiliation (Ball 1996:45; Du Bois 1909:354).

The Clemens farm was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2001, and in 2010 it became the site of archaeological excavations, reaffirming its place of significance in the history of the region, and the larger narrative of Antebellum free people of color (Clark et al.

2017; Smothers 2000). James and Sophia Clemens, and their farmstead, serve as an ideal case study in Midwestern historic archaeology because they present a unique combination of documentary evidence, extant architecture, and archaeological data. As Myra B. Young Armstead stated regarding research of this nature, “[i]t is the sum of these facts” that give meaning to the story (2012:1). Not only is there diverse evidence, but it is evidence regarding the lives of free people of color before national emancipation in the United States. These factors combine to make the Clemens farm especially valuable historically.

In the Southern United States, the stories of enslaved peoples have been told, to some degree, through the archaeological record (Heath and Bennet 2000 and Joseph 1993). The Southeast and Midwest both housed refuge communities during the Antebellum period. In the Midwest, these were referred to as multiracial free person communities. Often these became established on the fringes of the Underground Railroad. Such groups served to help community members survive in a social system that was not designed for their well-being. As Beale notes, there is documentation of multiracial communities in the eastern states as early as the seventeenth century (1972). However, Beale goes on to state that there was little public acknowledgement of such groups until after the American Revolution. Then “[g]radually during the nineteenth century, and continuing to the present day, they came to local public notice...as individual groups” (Beale 1972:705-706). Some of these sites are more documented than others, but only a few have been host to archaeological investigations (Beasley and Gwaltney 2010; Groover and Wolford 2013; Kessler and Ball 2001; Laswell 2008; Lyda 1953; Rotman et al. 1998; Shackel 2010).

The Clemens farm site should be situated in this same context. As stated above, archaeological investigations were undertaken there in 2010. The extant data from those

investigations inspired the two research questions which I pursued here. First, I sought to determine how the Clemens family exercised agency, both socially and materially, at their farmstead. Second, I sought to see how their choice of domestic architecture might further exemplify that agency. This information was then situated within the extant archaeological data to create a more holistic representation of the architectural and archaeological material culture of James and Sophia Clemens.

Perhaps the most fascinating manifestation of agency at this site is the brick-constructed I-house—the Clemens’ domestic architecture (see Figure 1). I hypothesized that this research would reveal the structure as an architectural anomaly among Midwestern farm communities. Further, it was my prediction that the brick farmhouse was reflective of the Clemens’ background in Virginia. Thus, I sought to add a case study to the literature in which individuals freed from slavery chose to construct a built environment that was familiar to them, but also one that reflected the slave environment, thus, exercising agency in a truly unique way.

The architectural literature of the time and regions explored by my study suggests that the Clemens’ home was an architectural anomaly as a brick-constructed I-house in Ohio. In distinguishing between the architecture of the Midwest and the South, Virginia McAlester, in her handbook of American domestic architecture states, “[in Federal] [a]s with Georgian and Postmedieval English styles, northern house builders continued to show a preference for frame construction with clapboard [weatherboard] siding, and southern for brick construction” (McAlester 2013:218). Discussing the development of Federal style architecture in Rockingham County, Virginia an architectural survey explicitly outlined, “[c]haste, conservative, and gracefully elegant, the style [Federal] first appeared in important coastal cities, but eventually was adapted everywhere in simpler vernacular forms. *Brick was the material of choice* for

simplified Federal-style façades, marked by refined decorations and elongated proportions” (E.H.T. Traceries 2000:46-47; emphasis added). Literature such as these creates this ideal of the Southern, brick-constructed dwelling and the northern, weatherboard farmhouse.

That sentiment is continued with discussions of Midwestern architecture. Andrew J. Downing in his *The Architecture of Country Houses*, originally published in 1850, presents architectural styles and descriptions that the author considers to be archetypal of the American farmhouse—specifically the general 19th century farmer, rather than the plantation landscape (Downing 1969:146-173). Only one design is presented by Downing as being an amenable design for brick construction, but even so the illustrative example provided for the design is a dwelling constructed of quarried stone (Downing 1969:169-170). Fred W. Peterson’s article “Vernacular Building and Victorian Architecture” creates a similar image by presenting four sites as illustrative of “Midwestern American Farm Homes,” and all of them are weatherboard exterior, rather than brick (Peterson 1986:435, 438-439, and 441). Lastly, this ideal is reemphasized by the *Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory* for Randolph County, which stated, “[a] variety of I-house examples remain in Randolph County. The Allen Driscoll House...in Union Township is one of the few brick I-houses in the township (HLFI 1998:xx; emphasis added). That same volume also addressed the limited presence of Federal architecture, “[o]nly four Federal style buildings were identified in the county. The James Moorman-Fields House...is probably the oldest brick house in Winchester” (HLFI 1998:xxvii).

Lanier and Herman, however, did present an alternative perspective, speaking to architecture of the Mid-Atlantic region. They intimated that Federal architecture and its contemporary styles were sometimes brick-constructed, and while brick structures from this era are relatively common on the landscape, it was not the most common building material of the

time (Lanier and Herman 1997:98). Rather, log and weatherboard frame structures were much more common, as brick required access to more materials and specialized labor to make (Lanier and Herman 1997:98). The disparity in structural remains is due to the longevity of brick over less robust materials such as wood, and is addressed in more detail in Chapter 5 (Lanier and Herman 1997:98).



Figure 1: The Clemens farmhouse. Image on file, Historic Archaeology Lab, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana.

Considering the Clemens farm site architecturally, this research also approaches it agentially. Sites contemporary to the Clemens farm, with either enslaved or free contexts, do not necessarily present their data in ways that illustrate the agency of individuals or small groups. It was my intention that this research would allow the Clemens farm site to take its place in the historic archaeological literature, about not only free persons of color in the Midwest, but also agency in the Antebellum United States. The community of Longtown itself represents small-group agency, as a refuge community. Even within Longtown, though, the Clemens exhibited unique personal agency. This project is intended as an example along the lines of Douglas

Armstrong's call to action for archaeologists of African American heritage sites. Armstrong called for the use of cases—such as the Clemens farmstead—as an opportunity to illuminate the successes of these individuals “in the face of hardship” (2008:128).

I argue here that such “hardship[s]” as referred to by Adams, are the established structures of the Antebellum United States (Adams 2008:128). Drawing on the work of Anthony Giddens and Immanuel Wallerstein, this research is framed theoretically as acts of agency within structures (Giddens 1979; Wallerstein 2011). Those structures are identified as the capitalist world-system and systemic racism, which manifested socially, economically, and legislatively (Giddens 1979; Wallerstein 2011). The development and sustainment of a slave-based agricultural economy in the United States created a system into which racism was fostered, and then able to continue even after the abolition of slavery (Smedley and Smedley 2012:97). Such a system provided justification for discrimination based on physical attributes and ancestry, and contributed to the socially and ideologically enforced idea that individuals could not change their racial, and subsequently, social, lot in life (Sharfstein 2007:627 and 629; Smedley and Smedley 2012:97). It is within all these layers of Antebellum United States' society that the Clemens exercised agency. James and Sophia Clemens' social agency can be seen through the historic record of their lives and contributions to the educational and religious endeavors of the Longtown community. My research as an archaeologist, then, sought to supplement the historic record of social agency, with an archaeological one of material agency. In the case of the Clemens farm, material agency can be found in their farmhouse and the archaeological assemblage.

The data collection for this project was a text- and image-based architectural survey of extant domestic structures between 1750 and 1830 in a region of Virginia and West Virginia, and

between 1810 and 1890 in a region of Ohio and Indiana. These two study regions are significant because the former, Virginia and West Virginia, is the region in which the Clemens were enslaved, and the latter, Ohio and Indiana, is the region in which they created a successful life for themselves as free individuals. Through the use of these separate datasets, I sought to detect architectural trends in each region, with the hypothesis that there was a Southern planter landscape influence behind the Clemens' brick-constructed farmhouse in the Midwest. For the purposes of this project both "planter" and "slave-owner" refer to the slave-owning landed gentry of the Southeastern U.S., and their associated landscapes and influences.

Specifically, I collected and analyzed data on construction materials, architectural styles, and chimney attributes at historic dwellings across both of these regions. To do this, I collected data points from diverse architectural surveys available in both regions. I created a database of this information, keeping in mind that not all attributes would be available for each site identified. I included the name of the structure, when available. Otherwise, sites were identified as simply "house" or "farmhouse." The original date of site construction, construction material, architectural style of the dwelling, total number of chimneys, location of chimneys, and the chimney construction material were also recorded. This data was analyzed to determine the frequency of each attribute within each geographic region, explore change over time, and situate the Clemens farm within these results.

A detailed discussion of the application of my theoretical perspective of agency in structure and the value of synchronic archaeological sites within a larger, national narrative is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 follows with the historic context of the Clemens' lives both in Virginia and Ohio. A brief review of relevant ethnohistorical, archaeological, and architectural literature is presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 includes the specific methods employed in this

project and the analyses conducted. The results of these analyses and a summary of the archaeological results from the Clemens farm excavations are presented in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 provides interpretation, discussion, conclusions and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2:

Theoretical Perspective

“Culture can be conceived as a complexly networked adaptive system whose *components*, arbitrarily divided under familiar headings like *society, economy, religion, and architecture*, are *linked in such a way that changes in one area will produce adaptive shifts in the others*” (Neiman 1986:294; emphasis added).

Agency in Structure

My research is framed through the theoretical lens of agency and structure (Giddens 1979). Specifically, I explore the ways in which James and Sophia Clemens exercised agency within the over-arching structures of the capitalist world-system, a slave-based economy, and systemic racism. Here, I have defined agency as the intentional actions of individuals within, and despite, repressive systems of power, which manifest as structures. Anthony Giddens describes a dialectical relationship between the two ideas of agency and structure, and emphasizes how “they presuppose each other” (Giddens 1979:53). He argues that structures should not be understood as always being limiting to agency, although they can be. Rather, structures are a necessary component in the “production” of action (Giddens 1979:70). Sherry Ortner also advocates this position, stating that agency does not exist outside of “cultural construction,” but rather, the two form together, and are influential to each other (1995:186). Socio-cultural structures affect agency, and simultaneously agential acts can alter structures.

Giddens offered a critique of studies in social theory that address agency, citing their lack of emphasis on subjects such as “social change,” “power relations,” or “conflict in society” (1979:50). This is a critique that extends into archaeological studies of agency as well. Paul Mullins wrote adamantly that researchers in African Diaspora studies were not standing up for the marginalized populations they were studying (2008). He further stated that archaeologists

were developing a discipline lacking in work to “consciously counter...dominant narratives or take...either racialization or racist stereotypes as its targets” (2008:108). His primary critique, however, is that archaeologists tend to focus on “locally-specific” elements of their work, rather than larger-scale issues (Mullins 2008:109). This is similar to Giddens’ point that agency does not refer to “discrete acts combined together, but to a *continuous flow of conduct*,” occurring within structure (1979:55; emphasis original). There is a potential for issue when addressing agency within a synchronic archaeological case study, because by nature agency occurs diachronically, within a larger system. Mullins suggests, however, that studies of agency in archaeology “caricature people as self-empowered individuals intentionally crafting ever-hybridizing identities” (2008:109). Douglas Armstrong’s 2008 article, disagrees with that criticism, as do I.

Archaeology does, as Mullins stated, often focus on “locally-specific” details, but that is because the material data acquired in an archaeological excavation are inherently tied to a discretely bounded segment of space and time (Armstrong 2008; Mullins 2008:109). In keeping with Armstrong’s perspective, exploring local foci of individual agency and the ways that they interact with broader-scale systems of economics and race serves to strengthen a larger narrative and strives for a more complete understanding of culture, rather than creating “caricatures” (Armstrong 2008:127; Mullins 2008:109). Sherry Ortner contextualized this position clearly with the statement, “[o]f course oppression is damaging, yet the ability of social beings to weave alternative, and sometimes brilliantly creative, forms of coherence across the damages is one of the heartening aspects of human subjectivity” (1995:186). Eugene Genovese shared this sentiment in saying, “[t]he practical question facing the slaves was not whether slavery itself was a proper relation but how to survive it with the greatest degree of *self-determination*” (1974:125;

emphasis added). Armstrong, called on archaeologists to look for “more rigorously defined examples of such actions [i.e. agency], evidence of the ability to be creative, to think for oneself, and to be self-sufficient in the face of hardship,” and that is what I sought to do here (2008:128). James and Sophia Clemens employed agency in their daily lives—this research simply serves as a vehicle through which their story can be told.

World-Systems Theory

The Clemens displayed agency at their farmstead in various ways, but none independent of the economic world-system and racism in the Antebellum United States. This site can be considered a mechanism in the larger machine of American capitalism, as viewed through world-systems theory (Wallerstein 2011:xvii). Developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s, world-systems theory draws from Marxist thought, and is often applied as a framework for studies in historic archaeology in the United States (Wallerstein 2011:xvii). Wallerstein’s perspective analyzes global capitalism, and “forces archaeologists to think about unequal wealth, power, and profit, and from these topics to the broader issues surrounding capitalism,” such as the structures of slavery and race, and the power relations that perpetuated the slave economy in the U.S. (Orser 2009:261).

A fundamental idea behind world-systems theory is that the post-Columbian world consists of one, primary, interconnected, capitalist economy (Orser 2009:255). This theorization of capitalism considers the fact that capitalist centers in large and powerful countries (or in the wealthy centers within large countries) are not independent of the rest of the world. Those centers do not solely supply their own natural resources and labor force, but rather are provisioned by the rest of the world-system (Wallerstein 2001:36-37). This aligns with Karl Marx’s perspective of slavery in the U.S., about which he stated that the rise of such capitalism

in Europe allowed the trans-Atlantic slave trade to develop, subsequently becoming “a system of commercial exploitation” in the American colonies (1867:435). To this point, Ken Lawrence further stresses that Marx allowed for a distinction between slaveries that had existed during human history (1976:2). While all slavery involves the exploitation of human beings, it was Marx’s argument, as restated by Lawrence, that the slavery which developed with, and in support of, capitalism, was different (1976:2). It was a slavery in which humans were being used in agricultural process, but the goal was to produce surplus labor-force, rather than surplus crops; the relation of slavery to the concepts of race and racism will be discussed below (Lawrence 1976:2 and 6). The world-system increased in reach and strength, reinforcing the perceived need to perpetuate slavery into the establishment of the United States. This allowed injustices to be largely ignored as a new democratic, and capitalistic, state was born. The structure of slavery then permitted capitalism to flourish in the United States (Genovese 1974:26 and 44-45).

In this theoretical construction, there is a clear distinction between those who own the capital, or “means of production,” and those who actively participate in production (Orser 2009:255). Such a distinction is demonstrated by the core-periphery model, which describes the socially structured economic system (Wallerstein 2011). Through this conception, cores are the places where most capital is held and then where material distribution takes place, as opposed to the peripheries, which provide materials for, and yet are dependent on, the cores (Orser 2009). The labor-power of enslaved peoples, on the periphery, was integral to the development and subsequent success of early capitalism in the United States and its role in the world-system. An important distinction made by Wallerstein here is that this economic world-system does not operate independently from politics and culture; they are mutually constitutive (Wallerstein

2001:230). Political and cultural structures within the world-system affect how individuals experience and live within that economy, and can limit opportunities (Wallerstein 12001:230).

These various points within the world-system are interconnected, and they are not discretely bounded, but more importantly, they are not equal (Wallerstein 2001:59-60). Wallerstein argues that capitalism has been allowed to succeed unchecked, which resulted in polarization and a concentration of unequal wealth in the cores (2001:59-60). The Clemens experienced two ends of this polarization. Initially they lived in an enslaved context where individuals conducted unpaid labor to contribute to the capitalist economy. Conversely, later in life James and Sophia Clemens were successful agriculturalists themselves, producing consistent agricultural surplus before the Civil War, while the South was still operating its slave economy in full force, and this is agential. The economic position of the Clemens cannot be considered, however, without also acknowledging race as an influential structure in which they existed. While the separation of individuals as enslaved and free had origins in the economic system, it became about the relationship between “dominance and power” and a justification for differential treatment of human beings based on observable characteristics (Smedley and Smedley 2012:116-117).

Systemic Racism

There was not one defining moment that created the slave system, and subsequent racial inequality in the U.S., but rather it was a culmination of court rulings, cultural practices, and the power structure of Euro-Americans (Smedley and Smedley 2012:97). This ideology became an accepted worldview and continued to perpetuate systemic racism well beyond the end of legalized slavery, because this economic system of exploited labor and human property was successful for those at the top of the power structure (Smedley and Smedley 2012:211). Further,

Audrey Smedley and Brian D. Smedley argue that “...without slavery, race and racism might not have occurred” because the ideology that perpetuated the slave economy, then subsequently justified additional actions and legislation against people of color, because they were already viewed as being lesser humans (2012:97). An African workforce was desirable in the English colonies because these individuals were familiar with agriculture in a similar climate in ways that Europeans were not. Because this value was realized, distinctions were gradually drawn along color lines, where they had not previously been, and this division included access to rights, privileges, and material goods (Smedley and Smedley 2012:113-115; see also Jackson 2012:71-74).

An important part of racial history in the U.S. is the ways that such distinctions were drawn in regards to individuals of mixed or uncertain racial heritage. A combination of historical sources and local oral history holds that Sophia Clemens was the biological daughter of her former owner, Adam Sellers, and her enslaved mother, while James Clemens was believed to have had a multiracial mother (Du Bois 1909:354). James and Sophia, then, occupied a grey area within the national racial structure because they were considered mulattoes, and the documentary record for these relationships is presented in detail in Chapter 3. As James Johnston states, “[t]he class called the mulatto is the result, in many instances, of the union of the three racial elements [Native American, African American, and Euro-American]” (1970:172). Mulatto was a term used by people in the Antebellum period to describe individuals with mixed racial heritage, however, the slave codes that governed the Southern United States during this period did not distinguish individuals as mulatto. Lighter colored skin or partially white parentage did not automatically afford anyone additional rights (Johnston 1970:293). As early as 1723, the Virginia General Assembly had taken the right to vote from free Negroes, mulattoes, and Native

Americans alike (Smedley and Smedley 2012:115-116). It is important to note that while the Antebellum color line is interpreted as being hard and fast, Daniel J. Sharfstein argues that this line was much less definitive than it was presented as being (2007:629). In the South, Sharfstein argues, maintaining this line was more about reinforcing a social understanding that the line was effective, rather than enforcing every instance of an individual of mixed heritage seeking to cross into accepted whiteness (2007:627 and 629).

This opinion was reinforced nationally through the federal census, which did not include mulatto as a racial category until 1850. Prior census records listed individuals as white, free black, or enslaved black (USBC 1820, 1830, 1840, and 1850 [population]; Williamson 1980). The multiracial population emerged largely out of the power structure inherent in the slave system, because despite established social norms and miscegenation laws, many mixed-race individuals were the result of planter-slave relationships (Johnston 1970:272). Sophia Sellers Clemens, as mentioned above, is believed to have been the daughter of her former master, Adam Sellers (Du Bois 1909:354). This aligns with Johnston's claim that many mulatto individuals were freed during the Antebellum period because their fathers did not wish for them to remain enslaved (Johnston 1970:236; Sharfstein 2007:642). Such sentiments stem from the slave code in Virginia, under which children born to slaves were considered enslaved as well—children were given the status of their parents, but in cases of a master-slave relationship, the child was attributed to the mother (Johnston 1970:167; 236). This status attribution kept individuals with slave-owner parentage from being entitled to the property or resources of their fathers, supporting that "...the ideology of race superseded other status dimensions [i.e. wealth, familial connections]" (Smedley and Smedley 2012:146-147).

W.E.B. Du Bois described the Clemens-Sellers scenario in a 1909 article for *Colored American Magazine*,

There was, it seems, in the eighteenth century a certain Pennsylvania Dutchman who went to Virginia and had a daughter too darkly to marry under Virginia law. He had for a neighbor, however, a man as moral as he himself, whose son was born of an Indian-Negro squaw. This boy walked to Ohio in 1804, squatted on new land in the wilderness, and returned and received the Dutchman's daughter as his wife. But the Dutchman loved his darker daughter, and straightaway leaving his white family, accompanied his colored children to Ohio, where he lived and died on the 782 acres which they bought (Du Bois 1909:354).

While not all aspects of such a story can be corroborated, the Darke County Ohio Deed Books record James Clemens purchasing public lands from the United States in Ohio in 1822, paying in full (DCDB 1822, Book 56:299). James Clemens moved on to this land with Sophia, and they appear in the next Darke County census in 1830 (USBC 1830; on this census document James' racial category was still "free black"). The whole process of racialized identity could then then be applied beyond enslaved populations, to any group that was perceived as different from the Euro-standard, and then subsequently a lower status of human. This normalized the idea that the natural position of people of color was in enslavement. From that perspective, free people of color were an aberration and a "threat to the social system" (Smedley and Smedley 2012:205-206).

By the early 19th century, people of color outside the South were nearly all free, and by 1830 slavery had been officially abolished in all Northern states, meaning that the Clemens were

able to own land without legal impediment (Horton 1993:57; Litwack 1961:14). The practical application of freedom and property ownership, however, was not so straightforward. David Delaney put this eloquently in saying, “[t]o call to mind the *experience* of access granted or denied, of exclusions and expulsions enforced, of protection or sanctuary respected or violated, is to become conscious of the social relations of power” (1998:5; emphasis original). As early as 1803, Ohio enforced a law that all black emigrants must produce written legal proof of their freedom and present it to their county government (Vincent 1999:29). By 1806, new emigrants to Ohio were automatically required to present a \$500 bail to the local government upon their entry to the state, and this was occurring in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Oregon as well (Horton 1993:151; Vincent 1999:29). There is a distinction between granting “legal protection” to freed peoples and acknowledging “political and social equality” (Litwack 1961:15). Legally, these were free individuals, no longer the property of another person, but there were fundamental rights still not afforded to them. Property ownership was permitted (at least for free men), but there was no right to vote, no voice in state or federal legislature, separate but unequal education, limited ability to travel, restrictions on gun ownership, and limitations on public assembly (Nash 1982:151; Smedley and Smedley 2012:205-206).

According to the 1850 federal census the majority of Northern mulattoes were found in the greater Midwest, between New York and Indiana, and more than half of that majority could be found in Ohio and Pennsylvania alone (Williamson 1980:24-25). This was the first census year in which “mulatto” was added as a racial category, and James Clemens was listed as mulatto, rather than free black, as he had been in 1830 and 1840 (USBC 1830, 1840, and 1850 [population]). Contemporaneously with this addition of mulatto to the census records, the U.S. government also updated the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 (Delaney 1998:30; Horton 1993:58).

This was a strengthening of the earlier Fugitive Slave Act passed by Congress in 1793, which added slave-specific language to the original discussion of punishment for individuals escaping from service or labor obligations in the U.S. Constitution (*Annals of Congress* 1793:1414-1415; U.S. Const. IV, § 2). Due to this legislation, free persons of color, even in the North, were never completely beyond the reach of slavery (Horton 1993:62). There was a legal dichotomy between Southern slavery and the rest of the United States (Sharfstein 2007). This law allowed individuals seeking refuge in the North—unless they had been legally released from enslavement—to be forcibly returned to their masters (Horton 1993). It was irrelevant whether the individuals had been living in Northern states for only a few days, or if they had been in residence for years and had started families. If they had not been emancipated, they were subject to return to the South (Horton 1993:57). Unfortunately, this also led to some unscrupulous residents of border states along Mason and Dixon’s line kidnapping free persons of color and returning them to enslavement in Southern states (Horton 1993:58; pop-culturally this phenomenon can be seen in the film *12 Years a Slave*, McQueen 2013). These examples serve to represent how the Clemens lived their life within the structure of race, in its multiple manifestations, and how it influenced their social and economic position, as well as their choices.

By framing my research through agency in structures, I have found agency in multiple aspects of James and Sophia Clemens’ lives. These individuals were agents in their life transition from Virginia to Ohio—from enslavement to freedom. Enslaved individuals were not permitted by law to manumit themselves because they were legally viewed as the property of others. Once freed, however, these individuals could exercise rights more widely. The state of Virginia had implemented legislation in 1806 that required all emancipated slaves leave the state (Sharfstein 2007:633). This likely played a role in James and Sophia Clemens’ movement out of the state, as

did the fact that under law as a free man, James Clemens was able to purchase land directly from the federal land grant for the state of Ohio. The act of purchasing land Ohio was not in and of itself agential, even for free people of color, however James Clemens purchased a large parcel of land when it is compared to those around it, and that is agential (USBC 1850 and 1860 [agricultural and population]). Furthermore, even though it was technically legal for free people of color to purchase land, not all were able to do so. Various social and legal impediments, as have been discussed above, placed limitations on the purchasing power of individuals of color that James Clemens was able to break through. Because of legal restrictions on interracial unions in Southern states, James Horton cites a commonality of mulatto men and women marrying each other (1993:137). He further argues that this was a “conscious choice” by such individuals and those individuals included James and Sophia Clemens, who were married in Longtown, Ohio, as intimated by Steven J. Miller in his history of the area, *The Palestine Book* (Horton 1993:137; Miller 1983:76).

The Clemens produced consistent, significant economic surpluses, as indicated by agricultural census records, and this represents their agency economically (USBC 1850 [agricultural]). Within the structure of the capitalist world-system the Clemens transitioned from enslavement and unpaid labor contributing to the capitalist economy, to being successful capitalists themselves, experiencing both ends of the polarization resulting from the operation of the world-system (Wallerstein 2001:59-60; Clemens’ economic agency discussed further in Chapter 6). James Clemens was also a founder of the Union Literary Institute, and a primary donor in the establishment of one of the churches at Longtown (Miller 1983). The development of these institutions not only represented agency for the Clemens, but for their community at large. These institutions provided resources for the Longtown residents that they were unable to

access elsewhere, due to structural racism. Longtown, and the Clemens farm, served as stops on the Underground Railroad, providing a point of safety for individuals fleeing enslavement, and the Clemens were active participants in this process (Smothers 2001:13). Finally, and most specifically addressed in this research, the Clemens exercised agency through their material culture, both their household material life and their significant, brick farmhouse (Groover and Welford 2013). The Clemens lived in social, economic, and legislative structures, and it is within such structures that they were able to exhibit agency.

Chapter 3: Historic Context

“...economic progress [of free persons] depended on white men—not on slaves. The freedman had to labor for white men or he had to sell his produce to white men. *Success of his labors depended upon the confidence he could win among white men*” (Johnston 1970:67; emphasis added).

Augusta and Rockingham Counties, Virginia

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the slave economy allowed for a pervasive environment of racism that manifested in nearly all aspects of life for individuals of color, both free and enslaved. This system of slavery found across the greater Southeast region and the state of Virginia, extended into the Shenandoah Valley, and is directly reflected in the historic documentation of the Sellers family, who made their home there. The Shenandoah Valley had been settled by the 1730s, and “nearly seventy percent of the population was of German-Swiss, Scots-Irish, and English immigrants” (Chappell 1986:28; E.H.T. Traceries 2000:iv). By 1778, what is known today as Rockingham County, Virginia had been formed out of neighboring Augusta County, and it is here that there are records of Adam Sellers life (E.H.T. Traceries 2000:iv). In the Antebellum period this region was agricultural, and as was common across the South, the labor of enslaved peoples was used to operate the farms and plantations.

Members of the extended Sellers family were active in the society and economies of Augusta and Rockingham Counties. The following historic records serve to contextualize the broad-scale social structures addressed in Chapter 2 within the specific history of James and Sophia Clemens. A receipt for 1823 county property taxes owed by Daniel Sellers in Augusta County, Virginia, does not include enslaved peoples among his taxable property—although the first line-item on the property tax slip is for “quantity and value of” enslaved people (Sellers

Family Papers 1817-1852). A subsequent 1852 property tax for Daniel Sellers, however, listed “5 slaves” among his taxable property (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852). A receipt of repayment by a Susan Sellers on her property taxes lists “3 slaves” immediately followed by “11 horses” (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852). This serves to exemplify the lack of distinction between human beings and any other taxable property during this period.

The unequal relationship between people of color and the free white community is further represented in the language used to administer the estate of a deceased man in Rockingham County (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852). Isaac Sellers administered the estate of Reuben Long, and one of the specific charges made against the estate was “Chimney in the black people’s house” (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852). This frames the function of relationships between people of different racial classifications in the region, because—undoubtedly, if that charge were related to a service provided to a white family, they would have been listed by name, or at least by the name of the patriarch. In the Antebellum period, some enslaved people were emancipated by their owners without legal requirements, however in some instances this only occurred at the death of the owner, via their last will and testament, rather than during their lives. Eve Sellars [sic] of Rockingham County emancipated her slave, Harry Sellars [sic] in 1847 via her last will and testament (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1810-1859; registration dated 1847).

Individuals released from enslavement, however, then faced a different set of challenges. As stated in Chapter 2, freedom, in practice, was still limiting to free people of color during this era. The Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1812-1861 house 59 preserved examples of registration documents, which confirm the free status of their holders. Of course these do not, and could not, represent all the people of color who were freed from

enslavement in Antebellum Rockingham County. They do, however, serve as a representation of the bureaucracy and rhetoric of the time, and what it looked like on paper to be a free person of color in this time and place (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1812-1861). The certificate of a woman named Polly in Rockingham County described her as a “yellow woman [who] is free born” and is “the daughter of George...a free man of colour” (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1810-1859; registration specifically dated Sept. 10th, 1833).

To illustrate more specifically, the registration for one Elizabeth Strother will be transcribed here (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1812-1861),

State of Virginia, No. 232 Rockingham County, To Wit:

Registered in my Office according to Law as No. 232 on

The 17th day of May 1851 Elizabeth Strother

A bright mulatto woman about 18 years of age,

Five feet, 2 ½ inches high, has a small scar over

the middle joint of the fore finger of the left hand,

a whitish mark, or blemish on the lower part of

the iris of the right eye—and free born as appeased

by the affidavit of John Smith filed in my office.

The foregoing Register was by the County Court of Rockingham compared with the said Elizabeth Strother and found

Duly made a Copy thereof was ordered to be furnished ~~him~~ her [sic] as the law directs.

Done at May Court, 1851

This document would then have been used by Elizabeth Strother to certify her free status, should she be challenged to that effect. The specific and detailed description of physical attributes did serve to protect free people of color in that they would be able to confirm with higher degrees of certainty that they were in fact who they claimed to be. The underlying rhetoric, however, is that reducing a person to a verbal or written physical description is dehumanizing, and was done to enslaved peoples in the way it is still done to market livestock.

The Sellers Family

Operating within this larger context of Augusta and Rockingham Counties, was the specific branch of the Sellers family which leads to Sophia Sellers Clemens, her husband James, and their life in Longtown, Ohio. That story began in Virginia. An unreferenced document filed in this Sellers/Zellers Papers at the Rockingham County Heritage Museum and Historical Society provides a succinct narrative sketch of the Sellers, their arrival to, and life in Rockingham County (Sellers/Zellers Papers, “Zellers”). That information is as follows,

Zellers

3 Bros [sic] from German [sic] about 1685-90 1 in Penn; 1 in Maryland; 1 in Virginia
German Lutherans

John Zellers born 1705 or 10 [sic] lived in Va.

sons John and Adam Zellers 1742-1821

also Peter

Jacob 1766-1853

married sisters named Runkel Jacobs [sic] wife Christena

Peter Zeller moved to Columbia, Hamilton Co. Ohio 1797 than [sic] Warren Co. O.

Jacob Zellers to Turtle Co. in 1799

Orig [sic] Brother [sic] may have owned land in 1817 on Shen. Rv. R’ham Co.

Adam moved to Ohio in 1817 (Sellers/Zellers Papers, “Zellers”)

Again, I emphasize here that this document provides no references or documentation to corroborate the facts being stated. And yet, this is still in alignment with the narrative of W.E.B. Du Bois, addressed in Chapter 2, which described the arrival of James and Sophia Clemens at Longtown (Du Bois 1909). This narrative history was further reflected in a 1966 correspondence between seventeen-year-old Daniel R. Sellers and Marguerite Priode (Sellers 1966). Daniel Sellers was seeking information regarding his Sellers family history in Rockingham County, and Priode was a researcher for the Rockingham County Historical Society. In keeping with the narrative so closely associated with this family, Daniel Sellers began by stating the information he already knew about their history, "...in 1817, the family was living on the Shenandoah River, Rockingham County Va. At that time, *Adam Sellers*, Peter's father, *left Virginia and conducted his slaves to freedom in Lebanon, Ohio*" (Sellers 1966:3; emphasis added). The available historic documents do not discredit this narrative.

The research library of the Rockingham County Heritage Museum and Historical Society holds a book in its collections entitled *Cradled by the Massanutten: The Zellers-Sellers Family*, by Mary Marie Koontz Arrington. After personal communication with the research specialists there, it seems that this is the ultimate source for historic and genealogical information on families with this surname. This text, too, provided a similar narrative history of Adam Sellers life,

John Adam [Sellers] was probably born about 1742 in Pennsylvania and he died in 1821. Tradition is that when he was 75 he moved to Ohio. Based upon dates of his land sales, he moved to Ohio in 1817. This would establish his birth in 1742 give or take the month of his birth. He died in Ohio in 1821. His two sons Henry and Adam Jr. were dead and the rest [of his relatives?] had moved to Ohio and this probably influenced his moving (Arrington 1986:51)

Yet again, this is the narrative encountered throughout the research process. The next task, then, was to trace as thoroughly as possible the family history of the Sellers and Clemens in Virginia and into Ohio.

The first documentary evidence of Adam Sellers in Virginia is a land survey, conducted for him in 1773, demarcating 542 acres of land in Augusta County—land area that is in today Rockingham County (Arrington 1986:451). This was immediately followed in 1774 by Adam Sellers official land grant, also for 542 acres of land in Augusta County, administered in the name of King George III by the Secretary of the Colony, as Virginia was still a colony under British rule at the time (Sellers 1774:762). By 1775, Adam Siller [sic] is listed on the Augusta County tax records, with only himself and his land as taxable property—no other family or household members are recorded (Arrington 1986:51 and 486).

A subsequent land survey was conducted for Adam Sellers in 1782, in then Rockingham County, which demarcated 290 acres adjoining the Shenandoah River, and was deeded to him from a James Frazier (Arrington 1986:451). The 1787 personal property tax records for Rockingham County lists Adam Sellers and outlines his taxable property (Schreiner-Yantis and Love 1987:650). The categories for taxation in the county for that year included,

- Total of white males older than 16 but under 21 years of age
- Blacks above 16 years-old
- Blacks under 16 years-old
- Horses
- Mares
- Colts
- Mules
- Cattle (Schreiner-Yantis and Love 1987:650)

Adam Sellers, in 1787, was taxed for two white males older than 16 but younger than 21 (although only one son is listed on the tax records by name), and then for 8 equine animals and 32 head of cattle (Schreiner-Yantis and Love 1987:650).

Unfortunately, the census records from the years 1790 and 1800 have been lost for the state of Virginia, so this information is unavailable for comparison (Vogt 2007:iii). There was documentation of Adam Sellers during this period in military service records, however. “All free male citizens, with a few exceptions, ages 18-50 were also [in addition to paying taxes and giving of their services in road maintenance] required to be enrolled in Military Companies for defense purposes” (Arrington 1986:538). The Rockingham County, Virginia, East District #12, Captain Casper Haines’ Company, counts “Adam Sellers and Peter 21 [Adam’s son], 1 negro over 16” in the late 18th century (Arrington 1986:538-539).

By the 1810 Federal Population Census, however, the demographic make-up of the Adam Sellers household and property was much altered from that described in the 1787 property tax records (Vogt 2007:10). The census categories in that enumeration year included,

- Name of the head of household
- Free white men in the following age ranges: 0-9, 10-15, 16-25, 26-44, and 45+
- Free white women in the following age ranges: 0-9, 10-15, 16-25, 26-44, and 45+
- “other free persons,” with no age or race specifications
- Slaves, also with no age specifications (Vogt 2007:10)

The 1810 census records the household of Adam Sellers as including one free white male over the age of 45—assumed to be Adam himself; three individuals in the category “other free persons,” and twelve slaves (Vogt 2007:10). It is possible, while undocumented, that one of the free persons listed could be Sophia Sellers Clemens, who is suggested by local narratives to have

been the daughter of Adam Sellers and an enslaved woman from his property (Du Bois 1909 and Miller 1983). By 1816, the composition of the household began to shift again.

A document dating to September 21st, 1816 will be transcribed here in full,

Know all were [sic] by these presents [sic] that I Adam Sellers of Rockingham County and State of Virginia do hereby emancipate and forever set free my negro man named Gabriel a slave to have and enjoy his freedom against me and my heirs forever hereafter as witness my hand and seal this 21st day of September 1816 (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1783-1833; document dated 1816)

While this record does not indicate the emancipation of Sophia Sellers Clemens, it still is important to note for its date. Adam Sellers was recorded here as freeing a slave in the year 1816 (Rockingham County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records 1783-1833). All other datable sources, then, have Adam Sellers in Ohio by 1817, which aligns both logically and temporally with an 1816 emancipation of slaves (Sellers/Zellers Papers, “Zellers;” Sellers 1966).

This point is further reinforced by the Ohio land records which indicate that James Clemens, husband to Sophia Sellers Clemens, received his land grant from the federal government in 1818, having paid in full in 1822 according to his deed of property in Darke County, Ohio (Berry and Berry 1986:59; DCDB Book 56:299). Herein lies the clear tie between this family in Virginia and their subsequent lives in Ohio. This was not the first member of the extended family who had chosen to transition from life in the Shenandoah Valley to the state of Ohio.

Virginia Sellers and their Ohio Connections

Elizabeth Smith of Warren County, Ohio named Isaac Sellers of Augusta County, Virginia as the “true and lawful attorney” in the case of her mother, who died intestate in Rockingham County, Virginia (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852; Warren County, Ohio is the county in which Lebanon, Ohio is located—see Sellers 1966 discussion above). In this role, Isaac Sellers was responsible for coordinating among her heirs for the maintenance of her estate and property (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852). In 1833-1834—the years during which these legal proceedings were taking place—“property” included enslaved people. The authorization of Isaac Sellers as the attorney for this estate specifically stated, “[n]egroes, mulattoes, and mustees by whatever name or names, age, sex, or description they may be known, and all other personal property” (Sellers Family Papers 1817-1852; the word “mustee” here is further referring to individuals of mixed blood, often with known white ancestry but not exclusively so, Forbes 1995:55).

This final connection illustrates some of the threads that tied the Shenandoah Valley region of Virginia with the open lands of the Midwest, into which more and more individuals and families were venturing in the early 1800s. Referencing white pioneer families, Robert Brock states,

[w]e find the largest number of Rockingham County families in Henry County, Indiana. Theirs have been found in Hamilton County, and still others in both Darke and Preble Counties, Ohio. As noted earlier, many of these families settled in these counties well before 1850. As we know today, this region of the United States is flat land that is ideal for productive farming, which provided good reason for many of the settlers to stay in place (Brock 1997:16).

The following section discusses the “productive farming” mentioned by Brock, and that it served not only the white settlers of the Midwest, but free persons of color as well.

Freedom in the Midwest: Ohio, and Indiana

Although they did experience a higher degree of autonomy than that of enslaved peoples in the South, free persons of color in the Antebellum Midwest were not entirely free, and certainly not to the same degree as white citizens of the same municipalities. Despite these limitations, some individuals were able to assimilate into Northern communities and establish themselves. Individual success among free people of color in the North did often increase a person’s social standing within their community and among other free people of color. Outside of free person society, however, it could be perceived in just the opposite way. The success of people of color could be a source of “greater hostility and suspicion” from white settlers (Litwack 1961:103). Agricultural pursuits were a source from which free people of color were able to draw some level of personal success.

Individuals and families began working small-scale farms, which contributed to the growing commercial agriculture of the United States, and in some instances, these individuals could expand beyond typical subsistence farming (Groover 2008). Initially many free people of color faced difficulty acquiring large amounts of land for farming and this set them back from their white counterparts. This was not the case for all, however, and families, such as the Clemens, were able to acquire larger parcels of land and they then used their property as “a means of circumventing this [economic] oppression and discrimination” (Vincent 1999:xvi).

Beyond agriculture, a primary unifying force within Antebellum multiracial communities was the internal development of schools and churches. Schools in the United States were still

widely segregated at this time, with separate facilities for black and white students. An additional issue for individuals of mixed race, such as some residents of the Longtown community, was that often they were not permitted entry into white or Negro schools (Beale 1972:707). Churches operated in much the same way, allowing admittance to black churchgoers, but establishing specific pews or sections of the worship space that were designated for all non-white attendees (Vincent 1999:21). Both schools and churches were established in these communities as a response to the discrimination faced by community members—maintaining education and religious congregation allowed groups to create a sense of cultural unity (Beale 1972:707; Vincent 1999:21).

In communities such as Longtown, cultural identity of this sort was able to grow. Some individuals coming from oppressive pasts had the opportunity to acquire land. To be a free person of color in the Antebellum North was not to be completely free, but for members of self-sufficient multiracial communities, it provided unique group dynamics and created an environment in which collaboration led to success—Longtown, Ohio was one such community.

Darke County and Longtown

Initially founded in 1817, Darke County, Ohio was described by the year 1880 as a “first-class agricultural county,” that produced large amounts of corn and wheat (Beers et al. 1880:299-300). Both of these crops provided income to early small-scale farming endeavors in the area (Beers et al. 1880:300). As intimated by Stephen Vincent, opportunities for farming allowed free-person communities to develop the levels of autonomy that they did (1999:49-51). The Longtown community, and James and Sofia Clemens specifically, were no exception to this “agricultural ladder” (Vincent 1999:50). The community, first occupied in 1822, operated “communal threshing rings” that used “steam-powered engines.” (Groover and Wolford

2013:137; Miller 1983:76 and 223-227). Steam power provided more energy than could be produced simply by humans or even by farm animals. By sharing this equipment across the community, members were able to maximize their production (Groover and Wolford 2013; Miller 1983:223-227).

The Longtown community as a whole was not well acknowledged by Darke County or the state of Ohio. The *History of Darke County, Ohio*, a more than 700-page document produced in 1880, only briefly mentions the Longtown community in passing, and not by name (Beers et al. 1880:449). There is a section devoted to the description of each township within Darke County as a whole, and the final paragraph in the portion describing German Township states “[i]n the northwest corner of the township, there exists a colored settlement, the foundation of which was laid by a man named Clemens” (Beers et al. 1880:449). This is the extent of Beers et al.’s acknowledgement of the Longtown community. Echoing the narrative that had been encountered in Virginia, Donald Ball in his article “A Home in the Heartland” describes James Clemens’ initial land purchase at Longtown, stating, “the earliest settler, a man of mixed White-Indian-Negro blood from Virginia, moved to the area to escape rumors that free Negroes in the ‘Old Dominion’ [Virginia] were to be re-enslaved” (Ball 1996:50-51).

Acknowledged by Beers et al. or not, there is evidence to suggest that the Longtown community persisted and flourished with all the features of a 19th and early 20th century community, and it did so with collaborative racial diversity (Miller 1983:78; throughout its history, and into the 20th century Longtown was home to stores, a Masonic lodge, a Post Office, blacksmith shops, and even a baseball team known as the “Longtown Tigers”) Thornton Alexander Sr. is documented as being the first free person of color to purchase land in what

would become Longtown, and he did so in 1822, followed closely by James Clemens (Miller 1983:76).

James and Sophia Clemens

The Darke County Deed Books record James Clemens' purchase of his property in Section 8, Township 11, Range One East in Darke County on April 9, 1822, and thus, he became a documented part of Midwest history (Berry and Berry 1986; DCDB 1822 56:299). Ellen and David Berry's book presents "an alphabetized listing of the original purchasers of federal land sold under the U.S. Land Act of 10 May 1800 by or from the Cincinnati Land Office, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio..." (Berry and Berry 1986:vii). James Clemmens [sic] is listed twice as the purchaser of land (Berry and Berry 1986:59). There is not a space specifically for racial designation on this list, but James is demarcated as "black," while no one else on the page has a racial classification (Berry and Berry 1986:59). James Clemmens [sic] is listed as purchasing both parcels of land on October 16th, 1818 (Berry and Berry 1986:59). His place of residence is listed as Warren County, Ohio [not Virginia], and the Township, Range, and Section information for the property is provided (Berry and Berry 1986:59). The Darke County Deed Books reflect that he then paid for the land in full in April of 1822 (DCDB 56:299).

It was from this initial land purchase that the Clemens farm grew. Their farmstead individually advanced beyond the successes of their neighbors, producing significant surpluses. Ball cites a general trend among mixed race community members to produce limited amounts of agricultural products (Ball 1996:57). This limited agricultural production was a result of the maintenance of property within families and division of lands among progeny, keeping the lots small, and reducing their production potential (Ball 1996:57). Ball states, "[r]egardless of how efficiently a farmer tended his land, surplus population would soon outdistance the 'carrying

capacity’ of any given farm” (Ball 1996:57). As the following census data show, the Clemens farmstead was an exception to this trend.

The federal population census serves as an informative tool through which the development of racial structures and understanding developed in the United States at the national level. Each enumeration cycle, the census requested different information from individuals, which is reflective of what information was deemed important, but also how people were perceived. The 5th Federal Population Census, conducted in 1830, is the first one in Ohio on which James Clemens is listed as a head of household (USBC 1830:11; see Table 1). In this enumeration, only the heads of households were listed by name (meaning that Sophia Clemens is not recorded here).

Table 1: The James Clemens household as recorded on the 1830 federal population census

Category	Number of Individuals
Free Colored Persons (male) under 10	2
Free Colored Persons (male) 10-23	3
Free Colored Persons (male) 36-54	1 [James Clemens]
Free Colored Persons (female) under 10	2
Free Colored Persons (female) 10-23	1
Free Colored Persons (female) 24-35	1
Free Colored Persons (female) 36-54	1 [Sophia Clemens]
Total Free Colored Persons	11
Total (all persons)	11

This is the extent of the information that was recorded for the census in 1830. No categories relating to employment, income, place of origin, etc. were documented. *The Palestine Book's* history of Longtown, Ohio mentions that James and Sophia had ten children, which aligns with the size of the household and the diversity of ages represented in the 1830 census data, only leaving one person unaccounted for, with the possibility that there was a child who did not reach adulthood or one who had already begun their own household (Miller 1983:76; USBC 1830).

The recordkeeping for the census enumeration had changed little by the 1840 population census, excepting the addition of the category for “persons employed in agriculture” (see Table 2). Again, James Clemens was listed as the head of household. The household had decreased in number of individuals by half over the decade between 1830 and 1840 census enumerations (USBC 1830 and 1840). Presumably, this reflects children becoming adults and establishing their own, separate households.

Table 2: The James Clemens household as recorded on the 1840 federal population census

Category	Number of Individuals
Free Colored Persons (male) 10-23	2
Free Colored Persons (male) 55-99	1 [James Clemens]
Free Colored Persons (female) 55-99	2 [Sophia Clemens]
Persons employed in agriculture	1 [James Clemens]
Total Free Colored Persons	5
Total (all persons)	5

The 1850 Federal Population Census illustrates significant changes in the nature of data collection, however. Not only was this the enumeration in which the racial classification of people expanded from simply free white, slave, or free colored person, to include categories such

as “mulatto” (USBC 1850:378A [population]). This year also began the enumeration of all members of a household by name, with accompanying demographic data (USBC 1850 [population]). Thus, there were entries for both James and Sophia in 1850. James Clemmons [sic] was listed with the following accompanying information: aged 69 years, born in approximately 1781 in Virginia, racially classified as mulatto, and gender specified as male (USBC 1850:378A [population]). Sophia Clemmons [sic] was also included with the following data: aged 64 years, born in approximately 1786 in Virginia, racially categorized as mulatto, and gender specified as female (USBC 1850:378A [population]).

The 1860 population census for German Township, again, lists both James and Sophia Clemens by name as members of the same household (USBC 1860:30 [population]). James Clemens is listed as being a farmer, classified as mulatto, 80 years-old, male, originally from Virginia, with property [real estate] valued at \$21,000, and personal property valued at \$1,000 (USBC 1860:30 [population]; when evaluated through an inflation calculator based on the Consumer Price Index, \$21,000 in 1860 equates \$640,920 in 2017 and \$1,000 equates \$30,520 Wolfram 2017). Sophiah Clemens [sic] was enumerated with no occupation, not even listed as being a housewife or “keeping house” as sometimes was the case; categorized as mulatto; 75 years-old; female; originally from Virginia; with no personal wealth listed (USBC 1860:30 [population]). It is important to discuss here, while addressing the historic context which frames the Clemens’ household, their farm, and the Longtown community, the property value attributed to James Clemens. His real estate holdings are five-digits in value in 1860, and Clemens is only one of eight landowners in the township during this census enumeration (206 property owners in total) with a value that high (USBC 1860 [population]). Further, of those eight, only two, including James Clemens, were mulatto (USBC 1860:30 [population]). The remainder were

white, and none were classified as free black (USBC 1860:30 [population]). Here I will also note that there is a significant difference between the value of James Clemens' real estate holdings and his personal property, and I will further address that in Chapter 7.

The population census of 1870 was the last one in which James and Sophia Clemens were enumerated (USBC 1870:138). By this point, James Clemens was listed with his occupation as retired farmer, aged 90 years, male, from Virginia, with real estate valued at \$28,700 and personal property at \$500 (USBC 1870:138; \$28,700 in 1870 equates \$558,200 in 2017 and \$500 equates \$9,724, Wolfram 2017). Sophia Clemens was described as being 85 years old, female, originally from Virginia, with no personal property listed (USBC 1870:138). Interestingly there was no racial categorization listed in this enumeration (USBC 1870). Again, I would like to emphasize the significant value of real estate held by James Clemens—even more value than he held at the 1860 census—but an even smaller amount of other personal property. Yet again, the Clemens illustrated economic agency in their successful farming endeavors. The agricultural census data from 1850 and 1860, respectively, further make this point.

Agriculture censuses are conducted by the United States periodically in order to collect data on where, how much, and by whom, the agricultural products of the country are being produced. The 1850 Federal Agricultural Census for German Township in Darke County, Ohio, lists James Clemmons [sic] with a farm valued at \$11,000, and including 550 acres of land (USBC 1850 [agricultural]). Products produced by the Clemens farm at this census enumeration included: horses; milch [dairy] cows; other cattle; sheep; swine; wheat; rye; Indian corn; oats; rice; wool; Irish potatoes; sweet potatoes; orchard products; butter; hay; clover seed; maple sugar; molasses; beeswax; and honey (USBC 1850 [agricultural]). Considering all these revenue sources and the total value of the Clemens farm, it is important to situate the Clemens within

their community. Traditionally census information is gathered in a geographic pattern, and households on census forms live nearby to each other, because they fall within the same enumeration district. Working on that assumption, James Clemens' entry in the 1850 agricultural census was compared to the entries of his neighbors. There were 41 entries on this page of the census, for which the average land area owned was 115 acres and the average cash property value was \$1,538 (USBC 1850 [agricultural]). That is 435 acres fewer than the total owned by James Clemens at this time, and \$9,462 less in land value (USBC 1850 [agricultural]).

The 1860 agricultural census data paints a similar picture, but to a lesser extent. By this census enumeration, the Clemens farm was valued at \$4,000 with 160 acres of property in total (USBC 1860 [agricultural]). While this indicates a significant decline in the size of James Clemens' property, when compared to the other 38 farms entered on this page of the German Township, Darke County Agricultural Census, James Clemens' landholdings were still higher than average in value (USBC 1860 [agricultural]). The average land area owned by farmers on this document was 94.08 acres, and the average cash value of farms was \$1,933.33, both significantly less than those of Clemens.

As is evidenced by these census documents, the Clemens farmstead was operating at significant agricultural and financial surplus, well beyond that of their neighbors and others in the surrounding vicinity. A relatively succinct Last Will and Testament written by James Clemens does not describe property in detail, but rather leaves all his property to "my beloved wife Sophia Clemens" (DCPC Record of Wills A1-C 1870:75).

While the detailed probate inventory does not list materials specifically belonging to Sophia independent of James, the material culture of this family was reflected in the property inventory (DCPC 1871). Schedule B of the probate inventory includes items "not deemed assets,

to be administered as such, but left with the family without being appraised,” and those included 1 spinning wheel, 2 stoves, 1 family bible, 1 cow, and 3 sheep (DCPC 1871, Schedule B).

Schedule C lists personal property designated specifically for Sophia Clemens (widow), “[w]e do set off and allow to Sophiah [sic] Clemens the Widow of said Decedent Personal Property to the amount of One Hundred Dollars allowed her by law the following property,” including 1 stand, 1 cubberd [sic], 11 chairs, cubberds [sic] wares, 1 clock, 2 iron kettles, and 1 table (DCPC 1871, Schedule C; the dollar figures for each of these items was also included in the inventory).

Schedule C goes on to state “The above being all the household goods belonging to said estate not heretofor set off to said widow” (DCPC 1871, Schedule C).

Schedule D of the probate inventory describes provisions for Sophia’s immediate needs following the death of her husband, and states, “[w]e do set off and allow to Sophiah [sic] Clemens the Widow of said Decedent the following property for their support for twelve months from the time of his death: And there not being property of a suitable kind set off, we certify that she will need in money the sum of Four Hundred dollars” (DCPC 1871, Schedule D). Finally, Schedule E lists the personal property in the estate of James Clemens which were determined to be assets (DCPC 1871, Schedule E). This is a line item including quantity, name, and value of the personal property assets. These items include 1 red cow, 1 steer, old irons—wagon tie, 8 hogs, 1/3 of wheat drill, 1 (unclear) steer, 1 white heifer, 1 lot corn, cider mill irons, 1/2 of 22 acres of corn, 1/2 of 22 acres of wheat in the ground, 1 lot of wheat, 10 (unclear) of wheat at John Clemens, 1/2 of horsepower, 1/2 of thresher, 1 windmill, 1 old anvil and old irons—wagon rod (DCPC 1871, Schedule E). This document ends with the following statement, “Sophia Clemens widow of James Clemens late Deceased takes all the above property at the appraisement,” as was recorded as James’ wishes in his Last Will and Testament, presumably with the remaining

wealth being subdivided further among their children by Sophia herself (DCPC 1871, Schedule E; DCPC Record of Wills A1-C 1870:74-75; see Figure 2).



Figure 2: Clemens farm, late 19th century. Miller 1983. On file, Historic Archaeology Lab, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana. This image depicts the Clemens farmhouse from the rear with a kitchen ell addition. The home was owned by one of James and Sophia's daughters and her husband (pictured here) and they constructed the addition.

The personal material culture illustrated by census documents and probate records reveals that James and Sophia operated a highly successful farm in Ohio, and that a sizeable portion of their material wealth was concentrated in their real estate and farming equipment (see Chapter 7 for additional discussion of the disparity between property and personal wealth of James Clemens as compared to other contemporary property owners). The archaeological data recovered at the Clemens farm site also contributes to the narrative of their material lives.

Locally Specific and Synchronic—Details of Excavations at the Clemens Farm

Theoretically, I have argued here that archaeology allows the research community to observe concepts, such as agency, in local, synchronic detail, and that this can help to expand understanding of the lives of individuals and how they conducted themselves within the larger-scale historic narratives of the region, state, and nation. To follow, I provide a brief discussion of the excavations that took place at the Clemens farm, to situate this site of material agency into a larger discourse.

The Department of Anthropology at Ball State University conducted archaeological site testing at the Clemens farmstead (33Da423) in September and October of 2010. This project was a part of a semester-long immersion seminar held through the Virginia B. Ball Center for Creative Inquiry at Ball State University (Clark et al. 2017; I will note here that similarities between Clark et al. 2017 and this monograph are because I authored both; Clark et al. 2017 still under review). Site investigations included excavation of systematic posthole tests at 15-foot intervals. In total, the grid was composed of 60 tests (Clark et al. 2017; see Figure 3 and Figure 4). The majority of the posthole tests fell to the north of the I-house, but they extended to the south, west, and east as well. The systematic grid tests resulted in the discovery of two dense middens, or garbage disposal areas, one on the north side of the I-house and the other on the east, dating to the James and Sophia Clemens period of site occupation and the subsequent Goins periods, respectively (for midden locations, see Figure 5 and Figure 6; also see discussion on intergenerational landscape change in Chapter 7 for more regarding the Goins occupation). Posthole tests were excavated until sterile subsoil was reached, unless otherwise specified, depths were recorded in inches, and all fill was screened (Clark et al. 2017).



Figure 3: Site map of posthole tests and excavation units at the Clemens farm site (33Da423). Composite hand-drawn field map, scanned, and digital georeferenced map created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2016 (also see Figure 4).



Figure 4: Site map of posthole tests and excavation units at the Clemens farm site (33Da423). Composite hand-drawn field map, scanned, and digital georeferenced map created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2016 (also see Figure 3).

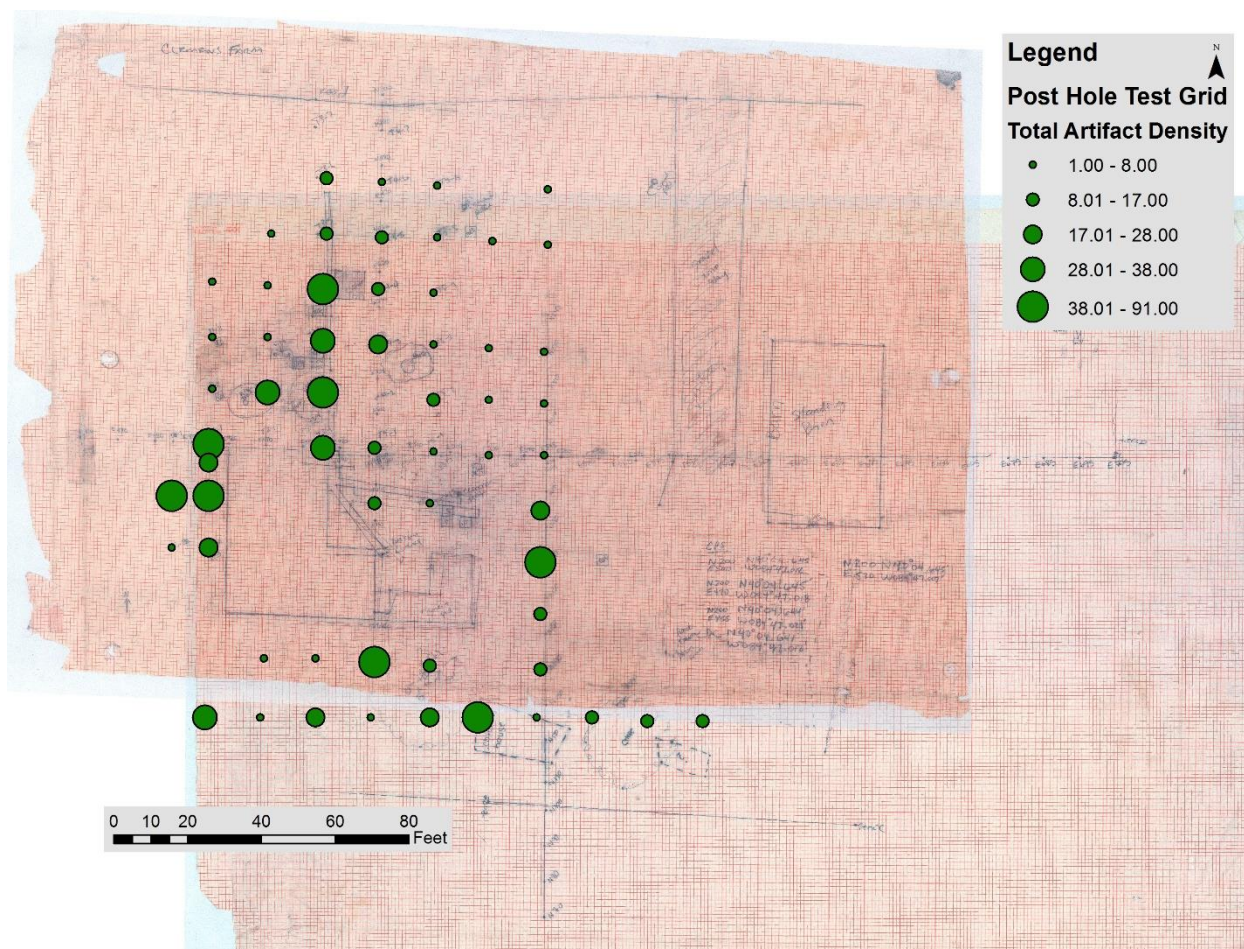


Figure 5: Artifact density map for the Clemens farm site (33Da423) based on artifact count per posthole test excavation. Higher density locations indicate domestic midden locations in reference to the house itself (see also discussion of intergenerational landscape change in Chapter 7). Digital georeferenced map created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2016.



Figure 6: Density map illustrating the location of middens surrounding the Clemens farm house. Digital georeferenced map created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2016.

A ground penetrating radar survey (GPR) was also conducted by Jarrod Burks of Ohio Valley Archaeology, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. The GPR information, combined with the test grid data, was used to inform the placement of test units across the site. Thirteen 3x3' test units were excavated with a temporal control of .20' (English Engineer's Scale) per level; all units followed these specifications where possible (Clark et al. 2017). Fourteen units were planned and Unit 10

was not excavated. The soil from each level was screened, unless otherwise specified. Seven units were placed in the north of the house to investigate the Clemens period midden and anomalies that appeared in the GPR survey. Four units were placed to the east of the house to investigate the Goins midden and the possible summer kitchen in the east yard. The remaining two units were placed to directly investigate a particular phenomenon in the GPR survey; one at the northernmost edge of the site along Stingley Road and the other farther east, near what might have been the Clemens privy (Clark et al. 2017).

This fine-scale material study of the Clemens farm site uncovered artifacts that reveal information about how the choices that James and Sophia Clemens made manifested materially. Archaeological data is unique in that it can be truly revealing about the lives of the people who created it. People may carefully craft a documentary history that records them as they wish to be preserved for posterity, but the materials left behind as “trash” that ultimately become the archaeological record, can present a different, underlying narrative. A discussion of the specific material findings of these archaeological excavations will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. There, those results are juxtaposed against the findings of this architectural survey, which explores another material aspect of their lives, the brick-constructed farmhouse. To follow is a review of relevant literature, which explores the material lives of both enslaved and free peoples, in the Antebellum South and Midwest, and the variety of ways that archaeological and architectural investigations have revealed the agency of individuals within societal structures.

Chapter 4:

Literature Review

Enslaved Contexts

The archaeological and ethnohistorical literature together bring to light activities within plantation spaces that might run counter to the more classic, purely dichotomized master-slave relationship. There has been significant archaeological exploration into the lives of African Americans in the United States. Much of this work has given focus to plantations and slavery in the South, and this was where most early studies of African American material culture began. Research in this vein often looks at living conditions and the relationship between slave owners and enslaved peoples (Orser 1989).

It is important to note that agency manifests differently in Southern plantation contexts than it does in free, Midwest contexts. By this, I mean small, subversive acts, as simple as the maintenance of a vegetable plot within a slave yard display agency in food consumption decisions and processes. In a free context, the limiting structures are different, so the actions within those structures are different as well. Although significantly different in terms of power dynamics, agency can be found not only among enslaved people, but also among the planter-class. Referring to the narrative history of James and Sophia Clemens, it might be argued that those two individuals would not have been able to exercise agency in the ways that they did if Adam Sellers had not first employed his own agency as a slaveholder to release Sophia and assist them in the establishment of their life in Ohio. Clearly, they are not agents in the same way because the slave-owner holds power to affect action among enslaved peoples in a way that is not reciprocated, but the roles of such individuals in furthering the agency of enslaved peoples are worthy of note.

Social agency has been noted ethnohistorically in the slave-holding Southeastern United States. Antoinette Jackson advocates that while slavery did place limitations on the lives of individuals, they were not, and cannot be, wholly bound by that status (2012:13). Specifically, Jackson provides the example of plantation rice farming on the coastal islands of North and South Carolina, which reveals significant agency in an enslaved environment that is not generally historically presented as such (2012:67-91). The rich wetland environment created by intensive rice farming is now nationally protected because it is home to such a variety of floral and faunal species (Jackson 2012:71). Enslaved peoples, however, were actually responsible for creating and maintaining this celebrated ecosystem, with knowledge stemming from the origins of rice cultivation in Africa (Jackson 2012:71-74). In this instance, the agential actions of enslaved people worked to the benefit of their owners, but it also evokes an image of individuals and groups that actively applied expertise to be successful within their social station.

Jackson's work echoes Eugene Genovese's earlier historical study, in which he presents not only the material conditions of slavery in the Southern United States, but also the socio-political ramifications of the slave economy (1974). A significant point he makes is that of the paternalism inherent in the Southern slave environment. This perceived relationship, in which the master was the protector of his slaves, developed as a grain of morality in the slave system—which nods back to the world-system, because without the world market for plantation products, the slave system would not have required maintenance and moral justification (Genovese 1974:4-5). Simply because the system had paternalistic elements, however, did not mean that it only operated as such. The agency of the actors within the system should not be overlooked.

Genovese goes on to state,

[paternalism] did not drive them [enslaved individuals] into an acceptance of slavery as such. On the contrary, the contradictions in the dual system and in the slave law...constantly reminded the slaves of fundamental injustice to which they were being subjected....they acted *consciously* and unconsciously to transform paternalism into a doctrine of protection of their own rights (1974:48-49; emphasis added).

The rights of enslaved persons, although few, were avenues through which they could exercise their agency and create the successes that they did within contexts of enslavement.

Barbara Heath and Amber Bennett conducted a study on the yard space surrounding the cabins of enslaved peoples in Virginia (2000). They noted that these yard spaces were provided by planters as an area for enslaved households to produce their own food. This land was often sloping (ten to fifteen percent slopes in Heath and Bennet's example), fallow, and subject to erosion, making it unproductive for the planter. Land that could not turn a significant agricultural profit, then, could be offered to enslaved persons to do with what they could (Heath and Bennet 2000:41 and 46). These spaces were investigated as veritable extensions of slave dwellings (Heath and Bennet 2000:44). The material culture uncovered in Antebellum yards of this type evidences small-scale subsistence lifeways—plowed areas are noted for plant cultivation, sherds of simple ceramics were noted, and pipe fragments represent tobacco use and socialization in the space as well (Heath and Bennett 2000). Although not directly framed as such by the authors, agency can be seen in these individuals' manipulation of the minimal resources provided by the planters, into communal resources that they, and their families, could then benefit from. This represents material agency at the smallest-scale within the structure of enslavement.

Intentional Construction of the Planter Landscape

“[t]he farm buildings were carefully ordered, and in some parts of Virginia they were set in parallel rows as a street with the main house on axis. Slave houses were also arranged in streets, often a quarter of a mile or more away from the main house. *These communities had their own lives, at once bound to but independent of the planter’s*” (Upton 1986:320; emphasis added).

Material culture has also been used to discuss the ideology and landscape construction of Southern plantations, looking to a much larger scale, beyond single slave-owned plots (Joseph 1993; Upton 1986). Dell Upton specifically addresses the planter-constructed landscape in the state of Virginia. He presents the idea that in some instances, there were planters who constructed smaller dwellings for themselves and their families in order to have more resources to allot to developing a far-removed slave residential area, apart from the planter residential space (Upton 1986:316-317). The relationship between the planter and enslaved individuals is complex. A planter was able to remove enslaved individuals from the space in which his daily life took place, but at the same time, this separation afforded those individuals the opportunity to exercise agency in the ways that they manipulated the space and materials available to them.

J.W. Joseph specifically describes plantations in the South Carolina Lowcountry, at which the “[p]lantation architecture and the plantation landscape appear to have been carefully constructed as an altar to the planter’s perceived omnipotent relation to the world” and “the main house dominated the visual perception, both in size and appearance” (1993:59). He noted a shift, however, from initial Colonial plantation landscapes, such as that presented by Upton, to those of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Materially, this shift manifested in the rearrangement of the plantation landscape and a change in the artifacts left behind. While the planter’s home remained the prominent structure, slave quarters were moved in from the periphery to a more centralized location, and arranged

into a village of sorts (Joseph 1993:68). With this transition, enslaved people were also provided food from the master, which they supplemented with wild resources, and manufactured dishes replaced locally made Colonowares in slave homes (Joseph 1993:68). The physical rearrangement of the built environment that enslaved peoples experienced affected the structure of daily life in such plantation settings. Provisions of food from the planter presents an interesting situation for agency as well—individuals could still supplement an insufficient diet with subsistence foods, but further this likely affected the over-arching structure of control and shifted the power even more into the hands of the wealthy planter class. In locations without this planter class, beyond the Southeast region, formerly enslaved people often formed Antebellum refuge communities and used agriculture and other means to make their living within the existing structures of capitalism and systemic racism.

Midwestern and Diasporic Contexts

Rural communities of free persons in the Antebellum North were often developed as a collaborative effort between free persons of color and Quakers, who were strong advocates of the abolition movement, and there were quite a few such communities across the Midwest. Kessler and Ball point out that,

“...available information suggests that at least the majority of the families who were to form the aggregate Melungeon and related mixed-blood populations predominately originated in the Mid-Atlantic states, primarily of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina as early as the mid-to-late-seventeenth century” (2001:140).

The Carmel Melungeon settlement in Southern Ohio was comprised of small-scale farms or families who provided farm labor to others (Kessler and Ball 2001). Carmel’s settlement dates

to circa 1823, contemporary with Longtown, however this community peaked in population much later between 1890 and the turn of the 20th century (Kessler and Ball 2001:13). John Lyda cited seven rural free person communities in early Indiana, located across no fewer than five counties (1953:19-29). Also in Indiana, the Lick Creek settlement was established, which gave rise to small farms (Laswell 2008). Randolph County, Indiana was home to yet another settlement, known as Cabin Creek (Rotman et al. 1998). A few of these settlements, Lick Creek and Cabin Creek, specifically, have also been the subject of investigations into material culture and inform research on the Clemens farmstead.

The Lick Creek settlement was established in Orange County, Indiana, and was a biracial free person community with documented Quaker support (Laswell 2008). The founding population of Lick Creek was primarily composed of free persons emigrating out of North Carolina, and it was part of the larger trend of immigration from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois during the Antebellum period (Laswell 2008:25). This was a community of family farms, with an average land parcel size of about forty acres when the community was initially established (Laswell 2008:61). The population began to decrease at Lick Creek after 1860, and the last property owned by a free person of color in the community was sold in 1911 (Laswell 2008:62-64).

The archaeological work conducted within Lick Creek examined the material cultural remains and probate inventories of both white and African American households. In this multiracial community, Laswell's data indicated a material tendency among the African American households for a higher degree of tools and equipment, as well as domestic items (i.e. agricultural domesticates) indicating that their investments fell heavily in their farming endeavors (2008:221). On a more specific level, the African American households also revealed

a higher concentration of items related to food processing and service and those for agriculture and textile production than did the white households in the study area (Laswell 2008:221). This stood in contrast to the non-African American households, which revealed higher artifact concentrations relating to transportation, and then specifically items for timekeeping, bedding, and processed foods (Laswell 2008:221-223). Together this data represents a trend toward more agricultural ways of subsistence for the African American residents of the area, maintaining the idea that small-scale agriculture served as a source of independence and self-sufficiency—material agency—for free persons, but also revealing that agriculture was a means through which they could exercise agency, and chose to do so.

The Randolph County, Indiana settlements, including Cabin Creek, followed a similar timeline to that of Lick Creek. As is best indicated by documentary evidence, the individuals who settled in Randolph County's eastern side were a part of the expansion of the initial settlement at Longtown (Ball 1996:46). Settlers at Longtown had reached into Randolph County by about 1840—for geographic reference, the James and Sophia Clemens farmstead is located in Darke County, Ohio, but is only 1 mile east of the Ohio-Indiana border with Randolph County (Ball 1996:46). The Randolph County census records registered only five people of color in 1820 (Rotman et al. 1998:41). That had exponentially increased to over one hundred by the subsequent, 1830 census (Rotman et al. 1998:41). Small farms were a way of life around Cabin Creek as well, with the average African American family holding less than one thousand dollars' worth of agricultural property (Rotman et al. 1998:42). Materially, little evidence has been definitively linked to residences in the Cabin Creek area. Systematic surveys were conducted across the county, and locations for survey were selected based on documented land ownership. Ceramic and glass were recovered on one property that were estimated to have been the material

property of a mid-nineteenth century African American landowner (Rotman et al. 1998:59).

There were not, however, any unexpected material remains uncovered in relation to this property, with the assemblage primarily yielding glass fragments and a few ceramic sherds (Rotman et al. 1998:Appendix 3, page 9).

Not all free person settlements in the Midwest conformed to the small-scale, dispersed farmstead model presented thus far. Frank McWorter, a free man of color, legally founded the town of New Philadelphia, Illinois in 1836, and was the first free person of color to legally do so (Shackel 2010:7). McWorter was born in South Carolina, relocated to Kentucky, and then chose to purchase land in Illinois and settle there. New Philadelphia is a vivid example of free person agency because it was not simply founded, but “planned and legally registered” and “platted with 144 lots, each measuring 60 x 120 ft.” (Beasley and Gwaltney 2010:20). By the 1840s, lots were beginning to sell and interest in the community was increasing (Shackel 2010:8-10). Census records indicate that by 1855 the town contained fifty-eight residents in eleven households (Shackel 2010:10). This population reached its peak in 1865 with 160 people, but was in decline by 1880 with only eighty-four people in seventeen households by (Shackel 2010:10).

Extensive archaeology has been conducted, and research is ongoing at New Philadelphia. Archaeological features have included cellar pits, cisterns, wells, storage features, and the stone foundation of a house dating to the 1840s (Shackel 2010:15). The material recovered from pedestrian survey across the town blocks of New Philadelphia represents primarily kitchen, architectural, and structural functional categories, but of the modest means that would be expected in a lower to middle class town (Beasley and Gwaltney 2010:31). New Philadelphia is unique in that the entire town speaks to the material agency of free people of color in the Midwest. During a period of time in which free people of color faced impediments to life in the

South, many took refuge in the Midwest. It was there that enterprising individuals created their own communities in which they could establish themselves. At New Philadelphia, this agency was demonstrated materially through the planning of the community itself. Through these comparative sites, it can be seen that the Clemens farm site does not stand alone in the realm of family-run farmsteads or communities of free people of color in the Midwest. It is but a piece in the puzzle of the diaspora of individuals emigrating out of the Antebellum South in hopes of maximizing their opportunities. Perhaps the most visible way in which James and Sophia Clemens took advantage of their Midwestern opportunities was their construction of a brick farmhouse, which still stands today (see Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 7, and Figure 31).

Thus, it is also important to acknowledge the literature that frames the domestic architecture of both the Mid-Atlantic and Midwestern regions in which the Clemens lived. A common thread between all communities discussed above—free person refuge communities, planter communities, and communities of enslaved peoples—is that of the domestic structure, the home. They are not all the same, and do not necessarily even carry the same meaning, but they are present and record an aspect of human material culture.

Domestic Architecture in the Mid-Atlantic and the Midwest

“While churches and temples tell us how men worshipped; shops and mills tell us how they worked; *houses tell us how they lived*” (Terrell 1970:vii; emphasis added).

Architecture represents human material culture in much the same way that an archaeological assemblage does. Structures can even be conceived of as “above-ground archaeological sites” (Lanier and Herman 1997:2). In more isolated, rural settings, as contrasted with intentionally planned urban and suburban settings, the structures that are built are a

reflection of the people who built them, because they were built specifically for them, and sometimes even by them (Downing 1969:xx).

Mid-Atlantic Domestic Architecture

After the mid-1600s, Mid-Atlantic and Southern agricultural endeavors began to expand inland from the coast, eventually leading to the establishment of plantations, and with them, plantation houses (Kauffman 1975:136). Gabrielle Lanier and Bernard Herman state that by the 1800s, “the image of *the imposing, boxlike Georgian house became the symbol of agricultural success and polite society* on the rich farmlands of the region” (1997:31-32; emphasis added).

Interestingly, while Rockingham County, Virginia (located in the Shenandoah Valley) is in a region that operated on a slave-based agricultural economy, the residents and historians of the area do not necessarily think of it as an example of the affluent planter landscape (Terrell 1970). Instead, a locally produced architectural survey stated, “[a]s compared to the plantation houses along the James River...the houses of Rockingham County are small. Exteriors remained simple and unembellished by architectural detail while interiors were less spacious and ornamented” (Terrell 1970:viii). Despite this interpretation, however, it is worth noting that Albemarle County, immediately adjacent to Rockingham, is home to Thomas Jefferson’s famed plantation, Monticello, which is arguably large and embellished, and sites such as this would have been within a reasonable sphere of influence for the Clemens and other Rockingham County residents (Lissandrello 1975). Edward Chappell noted that “[e]ven the most casual examination of housing in the Shenandoah Valley reveals a rural landscape dominated by medium-sized farms with a single predominant house form, one that is distinctly nineteenth-century and Anglo-American”—and that house form is the I-house (Chappell 1986:28).

Midwestern Domestic Architecture

Ohio, Indiana, and the greater Midwest were primarily settled by Euro-Americans moving upward and westward out of Virginia, North Carolina, and other states in the Mid-Atlantic region, and then these locations supplied the Midwesterners with much of their architectural inspiration (Kauffman 1975:101; HLF 1998:xviii). While it is logical that the earliest pioneer and settler dwellings would have been roughly hewn log structures, gradually, settlers were able to establish themselves and use agricultural profits to construct larger, domestic structures (Downing 1969:135; Kauffman 1975:102). It is these which became the farmhouses that grace the crop-filled landscapes of the Midwest as it can be seen today.

I-house Forms and Federal Architecture

The Clemens farmhouse is an I-house, first. It has the structural characteristics of an I-house plan. Further, I would note that the Clemens house has Federal-style detailing on its I-house form (see Figure 7). The I-house form is reflective of British folk style, which conceptually serves as the connection between the I-house form and Federal-style architecture (McAlester 2013:142). Federal-style architecture and I-houses are listed as separate categories of architectural analysis because the two are not mutually exclusive. Most generally, I-houses are a specific style, but based largely in their physical form, and can possess other stylistic details. Federal-style architecture is more about style than form, but most often conforms to a specific plan, with prescribed detailing. I will begin here with the I-house form.



Figure 7: The Clemens farmhouse. Image acquired from webapp2.wright.edu with permission from the Assistant Director of Public Relations and the Wright State University Magazine, 30 March 2017. This image of the front façade clearly exhibits the characteristics of both I-houses and Federal architecture discussed below.

The I-house, while named such because of its popularity in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, was not developed in the Midwest initially (HLFI 1998:xix). Originally, this architectural form could be found in the Mid-Atlantic, and into the upper South, but was not reflected in New England architecture (McAlester 2013:142; McMurray 1988:32). This form is derivative of hall-and-parlor architecture, which has a similar form, but only stands one-story tall (HLFI 1998:xix). The I-house form can be found in domestic architecture from the end of the 18th century into the 20th.

I-houses are generally characterized by the following features (HLFI 1998:xix-xx; McAlester 2013:142; McMurray 1988:32):

- Two stories in height
- Usually one room deep
- Two or more rooms wide
- A dividing central hallway
- Staircase located in the central hallway
- A low-pitched, side-gabled roof
- Exterior end chimneys—chimneys that are flush with the exterior walls on the ends of the chimneys, located at the side-gables
- Symmetrically placed windows and doors across the front façade
- Two to four windows across the front façade

Chappell specifically cites the I-house form as being prolific across the landscape of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and even as a representation of the formation of a new identity. Individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds were settling and coexisting in this region together, and thus developed their own, cohesive architectural style (Chappell 1986:28).

This standard, simple structure was constructed in brick; frame with weatherboard siding; or stone, depending on the structure's location and the resources of the individuals building it (HLFI 1998:xix-xx). It is not uncommon for I-house structures to reflect different architectural styles—there is not one universal architectural manifestation for the I-house. Some of this variety includes styles with Greek Revival, Italianate, or Georgian details (HLFI 1998:xix-xx). I-houses also feature Federal-style detailing, as does the Clemens house.

While not folk, Federal-style architecture also stems from British influence, and was popularized during the period of prominence for the American Federalist party in the early colonial period. Those sentiments, and the architecture that accompanied them, lasted into the

19th century, and expanded with Euro-American migration west (HLFI 1998:xxvii; Lanier and Herman 1997:127). An architectural survey of Rockingham County, Virginia, conducted for the Department of Historic Resources, describes the socio-cultural influence on this architecture well,

“Thoroughly British in origin, Federal architecture became the signature style of America’s wealthy mercantile class. Members of the Federalist aristocracy whose international business trade kept them closely linked to England embraced the style, despite American independence. Chaste, conservative, and gracefully elegant, the style first appeared in important coastal cities, but eventually was adapted everywhere in simpler, vernacular form. Brick was the material of choice for simplified, Federal-style façades, marked by refined decorations and elongated proportions” (E.H.T. Tracer 2000:46-47; emphasis added).

Federal architecture is said to be one of the forms in which Renaissance architecture manifested in England, and then subsequently in the United States (McAlester 2013:8). Colonial houses in this style were most common between 1780 and 1820, but the style continued in some areas up to around 1840 (McAlester 2013:217). This architectural style is characterized by the following features (HLFI 1998:xxvii; Lanier and Herman 1997:130; McAlester 2013:217),

- Strict rectangular box shape
- One or more rooms deep
- Strongly emphasized symmetry across the front façade
- A low-peaked side-gabled roof
- Semi-circular light feature over the front door
- End chimneys
- Elongated windows

In some, more affluent instances such as plantation structures, a “tripartite Federal design” was employed, which actually contained a front-gable center portion with adjacent, side-gabled wings on each side of the central structure (Lanier and Herman 1997:137-138). Within the Federal style, the trend, as documented in architecture texts, was for builders in the Northern U.S. to adapt this style into frame and weatherboard homes, while in the South, brick was more often used as the building material (McAlester 2013:218). The Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory cites that the Federal style was one of the original architectural styles in Randolph County, Indiana (immediately adjacent to Darke County, Ohio), following after the initial construction of pioneer-style cabins (HLFI 1998:xxvii).

Through the extant I-house, documentary records, and archaeological evidence, it can be seen that the Clemens were doing more than simply taking refuge in this community—they were creating their built environment with intentionality. It is the built environment, the domestic landscape, with its brick-constructed I-house that I have sought to explore further with this research. Chapter 5 discusses the methods and analysis of architectural survey applied here to explore the intentionally created landscape of the Clemens farmstead and its connection with their archaeological material culture.

Chapter 5:

Methods and Analysis

“Buildings are best understood not only by careful examination, but also by continual comparison to other buildings and architectural landscapes” (Lanier and Herman 1997:1; emphasis added)

Virginia and West Virginia: Data Sources and Methodology

Revisiting the research questions I used to frame this project, I asked how James and Sophia Clemens’ domestic architecture might represent their agency, beyond that which has already been illustrated via the extant historical and archaeological records. I hypothesized that the Clemens’ brick-constructed I-house would be an architectural anomaly on the rural landscape of Ohio, but instead would be more reflective of the Southern planter landscapes in Virginia and the surrounding region. The architectural survey conducted here served to explore this hypothesis and reveal the ways in which the Clemens’ farmhouse exemplifies their agency as Antebellum free people of color (see Figure 8).

I collected architectural survey data from multiple sources in both Virginia and West Virginia to establish the region of architectural influence in which James and Sophia Clemens began their lives (see Figure 9). First, I collected information from extant architectural surveys of Rockingham and Albemarle Counties, Virginia. Specifically, these were the *Historic Architectural Survey of Rockingham County, Virginia* prepared for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Rockingham County Division of Planning, and the *Historic Architectural Survey of Albemarle County Villages*, prepared for the Department of Planning and Community Development of Albemarle County (Dames & Moore 1995; E.H.T. Traceries 2000). I accessed these surveys as digital downloads from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources website. Architectural data for Rockingham County was also collected from *Old*

Houses in Rockingham County 1750-1850, a well-known local architectural study compiled by Isaac Long Terrell (Terrell 1970). I accessed this work in the county history research room of the Library of Virginia, but it was also available at the Rockingham County Heritage Museum and Historical Society. The Heritage Museum and Historical Society also has in its collections a Works Projects Administration sponsored architectural survey of Rockingham County, which was digitized and catalogued by historical society members (H-RHS 2008). I accessed this survey in hard copy in the Heritage Museum Research Library.

Lastly, I collected data on the domestic historic structures for Rockingham County, Virginia and its neighboring counties from the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the Virginia Landmarks Register (VLR) (VDHR 2016; there were not sites meeting my criteria that were listed on the VLR without also being on the NRHP). Lastly, I recorded domestic sites in Rockingham, Shenandoah, Page, Greene, Albemarle, and Augusta Counties, Virginia, as well as Pendleton and Hardy Counties, West Virginia. The Virginia counties NRHP and VLR information, descriptions, nomination forms, and photos were available with public access on the website of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR 2016; for specific National Register nomination forms see Ballard 1999; Baynard 2007a and 2007b; Bonner 1998; Brown 2015; DeMallie 1999; Edwards 2006; Forsburg 2010; Foster and Foster 2004; Frazier 1989; Gilpin 2001; Hallock 2004 and 2006; Harding 2008; Heck 1987; Henry 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992, 1995, and 1996; Hill and Fishburne 1971; Hooley 2013; Johnson 2006; Lefever 1990; Lissandrello 1975; Loth 1993; Massey and Maxwell 1997, 2009, and 2011; Moore and Nale 2015; Murray 2005; NA 1997; Naranjo-Lupold 1986; O'Connor and O'Connor 2002; O'Dell and Salmon 1989; Pezzoni 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002a, 2002b; Pezzoni and Giles 1998; Pollard 2002; Reed 1984; Sidebottom 2003; Snider 1972a and 1972b; Thomsen 1983;

Tucker 1987; VHLCS 1969, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1973d, 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1979d, 1979e, 1979f, 1979g, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1982d, 1982e, 1982f, and 1985; Wagner 1989; Williams and Rowe 2000; Zehmer 2000 and 2002). I accessed the information for each West Virginia county via the website of the West Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (WVDCH 2015).

For an architectural site to be included in my Virginia and West Virginia sample, there were specific criteria. Each site had to be a domestic site (other structures were not included because they were irrelevant to the analysis) and I required an estimated construction date between 1750 and 1830 in order to capture the period of architectural influence from which the Clemens would have been drawing when they constructed their own home in Ohio.

I took the data from each of the sources listed above and compiled them into separate Microsoft Excel spreadsheets to maintain the data safely. Then I copied the discrete sets of data into a master spreadsheet to analyze them collectively. Combining these resulted in 211 data points. I then further reduced the sample size by combining duplicate sites into single entries. In the greater Rockingham County, Virginia area, Bogota, Contentment, Herringford, Home Tract, Homeland, Inglewood, John Beaver House, John Beery House, Lynnwood, Mannheim, Maplewood, Mooreland Hall, the Grove, the John Rice House, Thomas Harrison House, Isaac Spitler Homeplace, and the Daniel Rice House were listed on multiple architectural surveys of the area. My review of the datasets also revealed five sites named Locust Grove; due to their significantly different construction dates, building materials, and locations in different counties, these sites were determined to be unique, and were thus maintained as distinct data points. Further, any sites were deleted from the sample if their construction date was outside of the

prescribed range (likely an inadvertent collection) and these totaled 11 sites. The consolidation of the sites resulted in a final sample size of 182 data points. Beyond that, I standardized the contents and descriptors to simplify the analysis process, and this will be discussed further in the analysis section below.

Ohio and Indiana: Data Sources and Methodology

I employed the same methods and data sources to acquire the Ohio and Indiana comparative architectural data for this project. While located in Ohio, the Clemens farm is only a mile from the Indiana state line, and the Longtown settlement is historically connected with the free-person presence in Randolph County, Indiana and the Cabin Creek community. Thus, a significant portion of my comparative architectural data comes from the state of Indiana (see Figure 10). I collected data on domestic structures from Jay, Randolph, and Wayne Counties, Indiana from the *Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory* surveys that were conducted in those counties (HLFI 1985; HLF 1998; HLF 2001). These surveys were accessed in hard copy from Bracken Library at Ball State University. Lastly, I identified domestic historic structures for Darke County, Ohio and its neighboring counties from the National Register of Historic Places. These structures were recorded from Darke, Mercer, Shelby, Miami, Montgomery, and Preble Counties, Ohio and Jay, Randolph, and Wayne Counties, Indiana. The Ohio listings were identified via public access through the Ohio History Connection online resources, and the Indiana listings are available via a general public log-in to the SHAARD (State Historical Architectural and Archaeological Database) records (IDHPA 2016; OHC 2016).

My criteria for sites included in this sample were that each site must be a domestic site and there had to be an estimated construction date between 1810 and 1890, to best reflect the architectural period in which James and Sophia Clemens constructed their home. I will note here

that an additional criterion was applied to the architectural sites within the Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory. Domestic structures, within the above date range were only included if they were not listed in an officially recognized historic district. The rationale for this decision was that the structures in historic districts were often very intentionally platted, and constructed contemporaneously with one another, thus drawing from a different kind of architectural, and arguably social, influence than the Clemens farm site would have been. Furthermore, structures in formal neighborhoods, that were not categorized as historic districts were included. I argue for the likelihood of gradual infilling and that the structures relevant to this timeframe could have been relatively independent at the time of their construction.

As was my process with the Virginia and West Virginia sample, I organized this data into discrete Microsoft Excel spreadsheets initially, and then compiled them together to in a master spreadsheet in order to facilitate data processing and analysis. When these data points from Ohio and Indiana NRHP properties and the Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory surveys were combined, 1814 architectural sites were identified within this region that met the above criteria. These datasets were checked for redundancy, and the following sites were combined into a single data point: Huddleston House, Samuel G. Smith Farm, Mary Birdsall House, Jesse J. Kenworthy House, James Haines Farm, and the Witt-Chame-Myers House (each of these was listed in more than one architectural source). The removal of these sites resulted in a sample of 1808 data points. Finally, as was the case with the Virginia sample, I removed any sites whose construction dates were beyond the range set-forth in the research design, the result of unintentional recording. In this dataset, there were 9 such sites, resulting in a final sample size of 1799 sites for analysis.

I modeled this text- and imaged-based architectural data collection on those of Melanie A. Cabak, and Mary M. Inkrot in *Old Farm, New Farm: An Archaeology of Rural Modernization in the Aiken Plateau, 1875-1950*, and John Morgan in *The Log House in East Tennessee* (Cabak and Inkrot 1997; Morgan 1990). Building on those surveys, each entry in my database contains the following information (when available for a given site):

- name of structure (house, farmhouse, etc. were used as descriptors in instances that there is no specifically designated structure name)
- structure type (i.e. domestic, but all sites collected are classified as domestic)
- original date of construction, where known
- construction material (brick, stone, etc.)
- architectural style
- number of chimneys
- chimney location
- chimney construction material
- citation reference for collected data
- additional notes

I gathered the majority of this data from text sources. In some cases, there were only images of the structures, and some architectural features and characteristics were not determinable due to the image clarity, angle, or other factors. There were also architectural sites for which there was both a textual and an image record of the structure. I took determinations of architectural style directly from source material where available, and provided my own interpretation only in cases where an image was the only source material available. Virginia Savage McAlester's updated *A Field Guide to American Houses: The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture* and the architectural descriptions of the *Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventories* for Jay, Randolph, and Wayne Counties were used as a baseline for

architectural style descriptions (McAlester 2013; HLF 1985, 1998, and 2001). I used multiple architectural resources in these determinations because some regionally-specific styles were listed in the *Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory* data that were not explained in McAlester's more general, national architectural guide.

Limitations of Data and Methods

There is a clear disparity here between the data obtained from Virginia and West Virginia, as compared to that from Ohio and Indiana, both in the overall quantity of data, but also in the number of duplicates which occurred. I offer the explanation that this is a product of the nature of the data from which this survey was conducted. First, I will address the Virginia and West Virginia data. The data collected from the Works Project Administration survey of Rockingham County, Virginia architecture represents the most objective of the data sources (although even the very definition of "objective" is debatable). That project was federally funded and served to fulfill employment needs in the region as much as it did to create a record of local, historic architecture. The other available data sources for Rockingham and adjacent counties are much more subjective and dependent on a variety of factors.

Old Houses in Rockingham County 1750 to 1850, by Isaac Long Terrell, while cited widely and maintained as a valuable architectural history of the region, is still a small-press produced book with the inherent biases in site selection that come along with that (Terrell 1970). The Rockingham and Albemarle County architectural surveys were professionally conducted, and were officially under contract for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, but these sources, as well, have limitations. As contract work, there would have been personnel, budget, and time restrictions, but furthermore, these are much more recent publications, and are therefore disadvantaged because the number of remaining historic structures diminishes over time. Lastly,

I accessed the National Register of Historic Places listings for this region. National Register listings are biased in that there is not a systematic framework in terms of placing structures on the register; for a site to be listed, there has to be a person or group of people willing to advocate and go through the necessary procedures to put that into action. It is because of this combination of sources that there was a higher percentage of duplicates in this data set. While diverse in their origins, and each containing their own unique contributions to my research, these sources also present the canon, per se, of Rockingham County regional architecture, without necessarily presenting a true cross-section of domestic architecture in the region.

It is on that point, presenting a cross-section of regional domestic architecture, that the data from Ohio and Indiana differs. National Register listings were included in this data set also, however, there were also three, systematic surveys of county architecture in Indiana which present a clear picture of the range of architecture throughout the area, focusing on the architecture itself. The only limitation to note here would be, again, the issue of time of survey, because the more recent an architectural survey, the fewer historic architectural resources available to be surveyed.

While on initial observation this might seem to be an unjustifiable disparity in terms of analysis, I argue otherwise. My hypothesis was that the data collected herein would show the Clemens farmhouse as anomalous in its Midwestern setting, but also as reflective of the Clemens' Southern background. Because my goals were as such, I feel that this data serves my purposes. In looking for the Clemens farm to reflect the Southern planter built environment, a dataset that is canonical is appropriate, in that it likely represents the characteristic architecture of the region, and the influence James and Sophia would have drawn on. The Midwestern data set, then, is non-canonical, but rather shows a broad range of architecture. Only in a wide-

ranging sample would I be able to confidently classify the Clemens' choice of domestic architecture as anomalous or not. Further, a comparable number of sites had determinable construction material, chimneys, etc.—primary points of analysis in this study—it was only in the category of architectural style that there were so many more data points available in Ohio and Indiana.

Lastly, I will address the limitation of construction material and longevity. Brick and stone outlast weatherboard and log, and this can result in a skewed sample. I acknowledge here that in dealing with structures from as early as the 18th century, this is a risk to the integrity of my collected information. Furthermore, because Ohio and Indiana were still considered frontier landscapes at the time James Clemens was purchasing his federal land grant, it is almost certain that there were pioneer cabins scattered across the region that simply do not remain to be documented. Considering that unavoidable limitation that is common to modern architectural studies, the data presented here still creates an image of the built environments in which the Clemens lived.

Analysis: Virginia and West Virginia Architectural Sample

My first step in analyzing the data was to standardize it in such a way that it could be quickly sorted in the database, by attribute. Each data point had its date of construction recorded as an attribute. I categorized each entry into twenty-year intervals based on this date or date range. For the Virginia and West Virginia sample, those categories were 1750-1770, 1771-1790, 1791-1810, 1811-1830, and inconclusive. Here, inconclusive simply means that the date range provided for a site could not be categorized into one of these groupings. There were not any sites used as data which had entirely inconclusive construction dates—they all fit within the temporal parameters of the study. The breakdown of the data into twenty-year intervals provided utility in

my analysis. I was able, not only to look at trends across construction materials, architectural styles, and chimney attributes within the 80-year sample as a whole, but to look at its development and transition over time within the sample period.

Lastly, I processed the data to produced consolidated categories of architectural styles. Arguably, this is a subjective task, however, without some sort of standardized categories, there were simply too many styles to be able to interpret in a meaningful way. For example, there were 53 different architectural styles within this sample. Styles such as “Palladian five-part” and “Virginia Palladian” were combined into a single-category (Palladian) for the purpose of analysis. Such consolidation resulted in 25 architectural style categories for this sample (see Table 3, below).

Table 3: Descriptions of architectural styles identified in Virginia and West Virginia survey counties

Consolidated Architectural Style	Description and Rationale
Classical Revival	Combined sites identified as “classic revival” and “early classical revival;” encompasses styles such as Greek and Roman Revival, but is a more generalized category
Colonial	Combined sites identified as “colonial” and “colonial I-house;” encompasses styles such as Georgian and Federal, but is a more generalized category
Colonial Greek Revival	Identifies a generalized colonial architectural style with Greek Revival details
Continental	Combined sites identified as “continental” and “continental Flurküchnhouse;” which are traditional German and Swiss vernacular structures (Chappell 1986:28-29)
Cottage	Small domestic structures categorized as such in architectural surveys; may be a cottage form with stylistic details of another architectural style
Double-pile	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to usually 2 stories tall, rectangular plan, central hall (HLFI 1998:xx)
I-house	Combined sites identified as “I-house,” “I-house hall and parlor,” and “English-inspired I-house;” style derives from the simpler Hall and Parlor style (HLFI 1998:xix; McAlester 2013:122)
Federal	Combined sites identified as “Federal” with other details, such as colonial revival, Greek revival, or I-house form; characterized by symmetry, low-gables, and a rectangular plan (McAlester 2013:217)
Folk Victorian	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such; characterized by Victorian detailing added onto general folk house forms (McAlester 2013:397)

Gabled-Roof	Not an architectural style; used only in instances where this was the only information available; any number of styles could feature a gabled roof
Georgian	Combined sites identified as “Georgian” with other details such as Greek revival; characterized by symmetry, cornice around roofline (McAlester 2013:201)
Germanic	Combined sites identified as “German Colonial” and “German Revival;” likely similar to “Continental” listed above, but the distinction was preexisting in the data
Gothic Revival	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such; characterized by steep roofs, cross-gables, and decorative elements (McAlester 2013:266-267)
Greek Revival	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such; characterized by low-pitched roofs, an imitation classic “entablature,” and a porch with columns (McAlester 2013:246-247)
Hall and Parlor	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to a single-story, linear-plan structure with a central hall and a room on either side (McAlester 2013:122)
Jeffersonian	Regionally specific; combined sites identified as “Jeffersonian” and “Jeffersonian Classicist;” this region was near to Thomas Jefferson’s property and likely these were structures constructed by him or influenced by his designs—Monticello is included in this category
L-plan	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to the shape of the structure plan—usually a single-pen addition onto a larger structure of one or two stories (McAlester 2013:127)
Palladian	Regionally specific; akin to Jeffersonian style; in that Palladio was an architect of the Italian Renaissance whose work inspired Jefferson (McAlester 2013:242)

Pioneer Settler Cabin	Combined sites identified as “pioneer,” “settler cabin- pioneer,” and “settler cabin” into a single group; not a clearly defined style, but generally, small, log dwellings, constructed to fulfill a basic need for shelter in frontier life (McAlester 2013:119)
Rectangular Plan	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to a structure with a symmetrical, rectangular footprint, and can include styles such as Georgian and Federal (McAlester 2013:202 and 217)
Roman Revival	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such in source material
Single-pen	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to a rectangular shape, single-room house plan (HLFI 1998:xviii)
Single-pile Double-pen	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; references the addition of another single-pen structure beside the existing one, and not adding a second story (HLFI 1998:xviii)
Southern Colonial Revival	Only includes sites identified as such in source material; generally represents construction emulating earlier colonial styles—Georgian, Federal, Dutch (McAlester 2013:408-411)
Steeply-gabled with dormers	Not a style but rather a description of attributes; used only because these were the descriptors provided in source material; could be any number of styles
Vernacular	Structures which do not conform to a given style

Having created clear categories that could be quickly sorted in the database, I was then able to conduct my analysis of trends within the data. Charts were compiled describing the total number (and percentage) of sites which exhibited each of the following attributes: construction material; architectural style; the most frequently occurring construction material among the most common architectural style; the most frequently occurring architectural style among the most common construction material; chimney location; number of chimneys; and chimney construction material. Each of these attributes was analyzed for the sample as a whole—all sites identified within the date range in the Virginia and West Virginia counties. Then data were analyzed by twenty-year interval, as described above. It is important to note here that while there were a total of 182 sites that create the sample, not all of these sites had each attribute available as information, so the sample size within each individual unit of analysis did differ.

There were 177 sites with information on construction material available for analysis—22 between 1750 and 1770; 17 between 1771 and 1790; 53 between 1791 and 1810; 51 between 1811 and 1830; and 34 with an inconclusive date range. These were organized into charts and listed by quantity of each construction material and its percentage of the sample. The identified construction materials included brick; brick and weatherboard combined; stone; log; log and stone combined; and weatherboard. This same process was applied to architectural style. There were 156 sites with this data available—18 between 1750 and 1770, 15 between 1771 and 1790, 48 between 1791 and 1810, 46 sites between 1811 and 1830, and finally, 29 sites with an inconclusive date range. These were each analyzed for the numerical frequency of each style, and the percentage each represented of the entire sample (for architectural style categories please see Table 3, above).

Further, I wanted to see how these two points of analysis interacted with one another. There were 153 sites which had both construction material and architectural style data recorded. Having determined what the most common construction materials and architectural styles were, I sought to see which styles were most common in the dominant construction material, and vice versa—which construction material occurred most frequently in the most common architectural styles. To some extent, this was expected to align with the larger datasets discussed above, but when broken down into twenty-year intervals sometimes there are sub-patterns within the larger trends. To accomplish this, charts were created that listed the most common construction materials in each temporal division by frequency. I filtered the database to only show structures with each given material, respectively; and then I recorded the most frequent styles in each material. This process was repeated, beginning with compiling a list of the most common architectural styles, filtering the database by each of those styles, and then recording the most frequently used construction material for each style.

Lastly, each entry in the database was analyzed for the following chimney attributes: location of chimney(s), quantity of chimney(s), and chimney construction material. The same process of analysis was applied for each of these attributes as was used in the analysis of the construction material and architectural style. There were 134 sites with chimney location information available for analysis—21 between 1750 and 1770, 10 between 1771 and 1790, 39 between 1791 and 1810, 40 between 1811 and 1830, and finally 24 with inconclusive date ranges. Each of the respective categories of chimney location—1 central, 1 end; 2 external end, 1 central; 2 internal end, 1 central; central; end; external end; and internal end—was then included in a chart and the database was sorted to determine the numeric frequency, and percentage, of the sample that each category represented.

Similarly, there were 136 sites for which the number of chimneys was known—21 between 1750 and 1770, 12 between 1771 and 1790, 38 between 1791 and 1810, 40 between 1811 and 1830, and finally 25 with an inconclusive date range. Structures were noted as having 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, or 1, possibly 2 chimneys. Each of the options for number of chimneys was then listed in a chart and the database was sorted to determine the numeric frequency and percentage that each represented of the sample (rationale for the “1, possibly 2 chimneys” designation is explained in Chapter 6).

Only 121 sites had a determinable chimney construction material—18 between 1750 and 1770, 10 between 1771-1790, 33 between 1791 and 1810, 36 between 1811 and 1830, and finally 24 sites had an inconclusive date range. Each category of chimney material—brick; limestone; stone; and combine stone and brick—was then listed in a chart and the database was sorted to determine the numeric frequency and percentage that each category represented of the sample.

Analysis: Ohio and Indiana Architectural Sample

Continuing with the same processes applied to the data from Virginia and West Virginia, the site data from Ohio and Indiana also had to be standardized before it could be analyzed. I pursued the same break-down of data into twenty-year intervals as described above, however, the temporal range relevant to this sample made the following categories: 1810-1830, 1831-1850, 1851-1870, 1871-1890, and finally, any sites that did not have a date range that could be slotted into one of the above categories was listed as inconclusive. Adding a column to the dataset with the twenty-year designation for each site allowed the data to be quickly filtered by a finite number of categories that were consistent across all points of analysis.

My final step in data standardization was consolidating architectural style categories. This sample initially contained 204 architectural styles, many of which were different purely because of punctuation and semantics, and instances such as these were consolidated. My combination of redundant styles resulted in 47 categories of architectural style (see Table 4, below).

Table 4: Descriptions of architectural styles identified in Ohio and Indiana survey counties

Consolidated Architectural Styles	Description and Rationale
American Four Square	Square-plan structures, four rooms on both floors; vernacular structures; can display different styles or be without a style (HLFI 2001:xxi; McAlester 2013:555)
American Renaissance	Not a clearly-defined architectural type; gathered from source material; likely encompasses structures with Renaissance ornamentation and detailing
Bungalow	Only included sites described as such; a precursor style to craftsman styles; low structures with porches and windows, often wood constructed (HLFI 2001:xxi; McAlester 2013:568)
Carpenter/Builder	Architecture without a prescribed style but known to have been constructed with a carpenter and builder; planned and likely incorporated different stylistic and form elements; HLFi recorded structures as such (HLFI 1985, 1998, and 2001)
Central-Passage	Two rooms, one-story, not unlike hall and parlor or double-pen, except there is a hallway between the two rooms; generally does not display architectural style with the form (HLFI 1998:xix)
Colonial Revival	Only includes sites identified as such in source material; generally represents construction emulating earlier colonial styles—Georgian, Federal, Dutch (McAlester 2013:408-411)
Cottage	Small domestic structures categorized as such in architectural surveys; may be a cottage form with stylistic details of another architectural style
Cross-gabled	Primarily a form description, occurs in multiple styles; here includes all sites identified as such; refers to gables on four sides of the structure with the peaked roofs making a cross when viewed from above (McAlester 2013:345, 566-567)
Cross-gabled Square plan	Same as cross-gabled except the plan view of the structure is a square; possible in craftsman-style structures, etc.

Cross-plan	Combined sites identified as “cross-plan” and “cruciform;” characterized by a plan view that appears as a cross shape; similar to cross-gabled, but visible in plan
Cube	Description gathered from source materials; here only including sites identified as such; presumed to be similar to an unembellished American Four Square
Double-entry Massed-plan	Description of form, not style; double-entry simply refers to the presence of two doors; “massed plan” structures are multiple rooms deep, rather than a linear plan, which is one (McAlester 2013:30-31)
Double-Pen	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; references the addition of another single-pen structure beside the existing one (HLFI 1998:xviii)
Double-Pile	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to usually 2 stories tall, rectangular plan, central hall (HLFI 1998:xx)
Dutch Colonial	Combined sites which had Dutch Colonial as their primary descriptor; characterized by one-story of height, side-gabled roof, split-opening front door (McAlester 2013:169)
Dutch Colonial Revival	Same as “Colonial Revival” above, except specifically referring to Dutch Colonial architecture
Eastlake	Stylistic architecture using machine-cut spindles and other details (McAlester 2013:336)
Federal	Combined sites identified as “Federal” with other details, such as colonial revival, Greek revival, or I-house form; characterized by symmetry, low-gables, and a rectangular plan
Free Classic	Stylistic description; a broad categorization for Victorian-era structures that combined elements that were popular during this period
Gabled-ell	Describes form more than style—is a gable-front structure (see below) that has an added gable on one side, making the plan view L-shaped (HLFI 1998:xxi)
Gable-front	Describes form more than style—unlike linear-plan structures (i.e. I-houses), this form has the gabled end as the front façade; often used for detailing (HLFI 1998:xx)

Georgian	Combined sites identified as “Georgian” with other details such as Greek revival; characterized by symmetry, cornice around roofline (McAlester 2013:201)
Gothic Revival	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such; characterized by steep roofs, cross-gables, and decorative elements (McAlester 2013:266-267)
Greek Revival	Very specific style; here only includes sites identified as such; characterized by low-pitched roofs, an imitation classic “entablature,” and a porch with columns (McAlester 2013:246-247)
Hall and Parlor	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to a single-story, linear-plan structure with a central hall and a room on either side (McAlester 2013:1221)
I-house	Combined sites identified as “I-house,” “I-house hall and parlor,” and “English-inspired I-house;” style derives from the simpler Hall and Parlor style (HLFI 1998:xix)
Italian Villa	Describes style specifically; pulled from source material; presumed to refer to a villa or cottage form structure with Italian-style detailing
Italianate	Combined sites identified with Italianate as their primary descriptor, with the possibility of other, minor influences being present; characterized by being two to three stories in height, a decorated façade, eaves, and window treatments (McAlester 2013:282-283)
Late Victorian	A broad descriptor provided in the source material; refers to styles popular toward the end of the Victorian period of U.S. architecture, i.e. Queen Anne and Shingle structures (McAlester 2013:314-315; 344-345; 372-373)
Lazy-T Plan	Description provided by source material—unclear what it specifically is in reference to (see T-plan, below)
L-Plan	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to the shape of the structure plan—usually a single-pen addition onto a larger structure of one or two stories (McAlester 2013:127)

Mid-19th Century Revival	Description pulled from source material; generic description of a site which represents a revival construction of styles popular in the middle of the 19 th century
Neo-Federal	Description provided by source material—unclear what it is specifically in reference to; presumed to be similar to a Colonial Revival Federal structure
Pioneer	Combined sites identified as “pioneer,” “settler cabin- pioneer,” and “settler cabin” into a single group; not a clearly defined style, but generally, small, log dwellings, constructed to fulfill a basic need for shelter in frontier life (McAlester 2013:119)
Pyramidal	Describes form, not style but are often characterized by being simple structures with minimal style; identifiable by the steeply-pitched roof and square plan (HLFI 1998:xxi; HLFi 2001:xx-xxi)
Queen Anne	Late Victorian architectural style; characterized by unique, sometimes irregular shapes, multiple gables, and decorative work (McAlester 2013:344-345)
Renaissance Tuscan Revival	Description provided by source material—unclear entirely what it is referencing; interpreted as a later, revival style of specifically Tuscan/Italian Renaissance architecture
Saltbox	Combines style and form; characterized by a massed-plan first floor, and an unevenly-gabled roof due to having more rooms on the first floor than on the second (HLFI 2001:xix)
Second Empire	Victorian-era architectural style; usually multiple stories tall; characterized by a hipped roof with detailing around windows and the eaves (McAlester 2013:316-317)
Side-gabled	Describes form, not style—this means that the ends of the peaked roof face the sides, rather than comprise the front façade of the house; appears in styles such as Georgian, Federal, I-houses, etc.
Single-Pen	Describes form more than style—likely used in the absence of a clear style; refers to a rectangular shape, single-room house plan (HLFI 1998:xviii)

Stack House	Description provided by source material—unclear entirely what it is referencing; interpreted as being similar to double-pile; likely a second story addition
Stick Eastlake	Specific style that intermediated between Gothic Revival and Queen Anne styles; Eastlake stylistic elements supplemented the architectural style (McAlester 2013:336-337)
T-Plan	Describes form more than style—is a gable-front structure (see above) that has an addition at the rear, creating a T-shape in plan (HLFI 1998:xxi)
Tudor Revival	Later construction of Tudor style architecture—popularized in England—characterized by steeply gabled roofs and iconic decorative exposed timbers and plaster (McAlester 2013:448-449)
Upright and Wing	Describes form more than style, but is characterized by really not exhibiting a particular style and being identified by form; essentially the same as a gabled-ell (see above); gable-front façade with a gabled-ell addition to one side (WSDAHP 2017)
Vernacular	Structures which do not conform to a given style

With established categories for sorting and analyzing the data, I could then analyze trends within the data. Charts were compiled describing the total number (and percentage) of sites which exhibited each of the following attributes: construction material; architectural style; the most frequently occurring construction material among the most common architectural style; the most frequently occurring architectural style among the most common construction material; chimney location; number of chimneys; and chimney construction material. Each of these attributes was analyzed for the sample as a whole, all sites identified between 1810 and 1890 in this geographic region, and then by twenty-year intervals (see description above). I will begin by noting here that while there were 1799 sites identified in my final sample of Ohio and Indiana architectural sites, the category of architectural style is the only one in which there were this many results. Fewer sites were identified with information on construction material and chimney attributes

Analyzing construction material, there were 145 structures for which this information was available—22 between 1810 and 1830, 40 between 1831 and 1850, 39 between 1851 and 1870, 41 between 1871 and 1890, and only 3 which had an inconclusive date range. These data were organized into charts and listed by quantity of each construction material and its percentage of the sample. The identified construction materials in this sample were brick; stone, stone and brick combined; log; shingle; stucco; and weatherboard. The same process of analysis was applied to the architectural style category, for which there were 1789 sites with this attribute—76 between 1810 and 1830, 300 between 1831 and 1850, 473 between 1851 and 1870, 927 between 1871 and 1890, and only 13 with an inconclusive date range. Each of these sites and date designations was analyzed for the numerical frequency of each style, and the percentage that

each represented of the entire sample (for architectural style categories in this sample, please see Table 4, above).

As was the case with the Virginia and West Virginia sample, here I wanted to see the ways in which these points of analysis (construction material and architectural style) interacted with each other. To do this, I created charts in which the most common construction materials were listed (in order of frequency). I then filtered the database to only show structures with each given material, respectively, and then recorded the most frequently occurring styles of each material. This process was repeated, beginning with compiling a list of the most common architectural styles, filtering the database by each of those styles, and then recording the most frequently used construction material for each architectural style.

Lastly, each entry in the database was analyzed for the following chimney attributes: location of chimney(s), quantity of chimney(s), and chimney construction material. The same process for analysis was applied here as above. There were only 39 sites in this sample for which the location of chimneys could be determined—8 dating between 1810 and 1830, 19 between 1831 and 1850, 9 between 1851 and 1870, 2 between 1871 and 1890, and only 1 with an inconclusive date range. The categories for chimney location identified in this sample were as follows: central, end, external end, or internal end. Each of these categories was listed in a chart, the database was filtered for the given attributes, and the numeric frequency, and percentage, of each category, in each time period, was calculated.

In the Ohio and Indiana dataset there were only 38 sites at which the total number of chimneys could be determined—8 sites between 1810 and 1830, 18 between 1831 and 1850, 9 between 1851 and 1870, 2 between 1871 and 1890, and only 1 with an inconclusive date range. The categories for quantity of chimneys were identified as follows: 1, 2, 4, or 1, possibly 2

(rationale for the “1, possibly 2 chimneys” designation is explained in Chapter 6). Each of these were placed into a chart and the database was filtered by attribute to determine the numeric frequency and percentage of the sample that each category represented.

Only 31 sites had available data on chimney construction material—7 sites between 1810 and 1830, 14 sites between 1831 and 1850, 8 sites between 1851 and 1870, only 1 site between 1871 and 1890, and finally, only 1 site with an inconclusive date range. Each category of chimney construction material (brick or stone) was then listed in a chart and the database was sorted and filtered to determine the numeric frequency and percentage that each category represented of the sample.

Federal I-house Sub-Analysis

With the above analyses completed, I wanted to further explore the specific architectural attributes associated with the Clemens farm, to see when and where that specific combination of style and form appeared across both datasets. The Clemens farmhouse is a brick-constructed I-house with Federal-style detailing, and two, internal end chimneys made of brick. To explore this specific combination of attributes, the Virginia and West Virginia dataset was filtered for sites listed as “I-house, Federal.” This sample only yielded one site that met those qualifications, and the details of that are discussed in Chapter 6.

The same process was then applied to the Ohio and Indiana sample, in which there were 142 sites categorized as “I-house, Federal.” These data were further analyzed to determine the numerical frequency, and percentage, of this style and form combination across the entire sample, and then within each twenty-year interval. The results of the analyses presented above are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

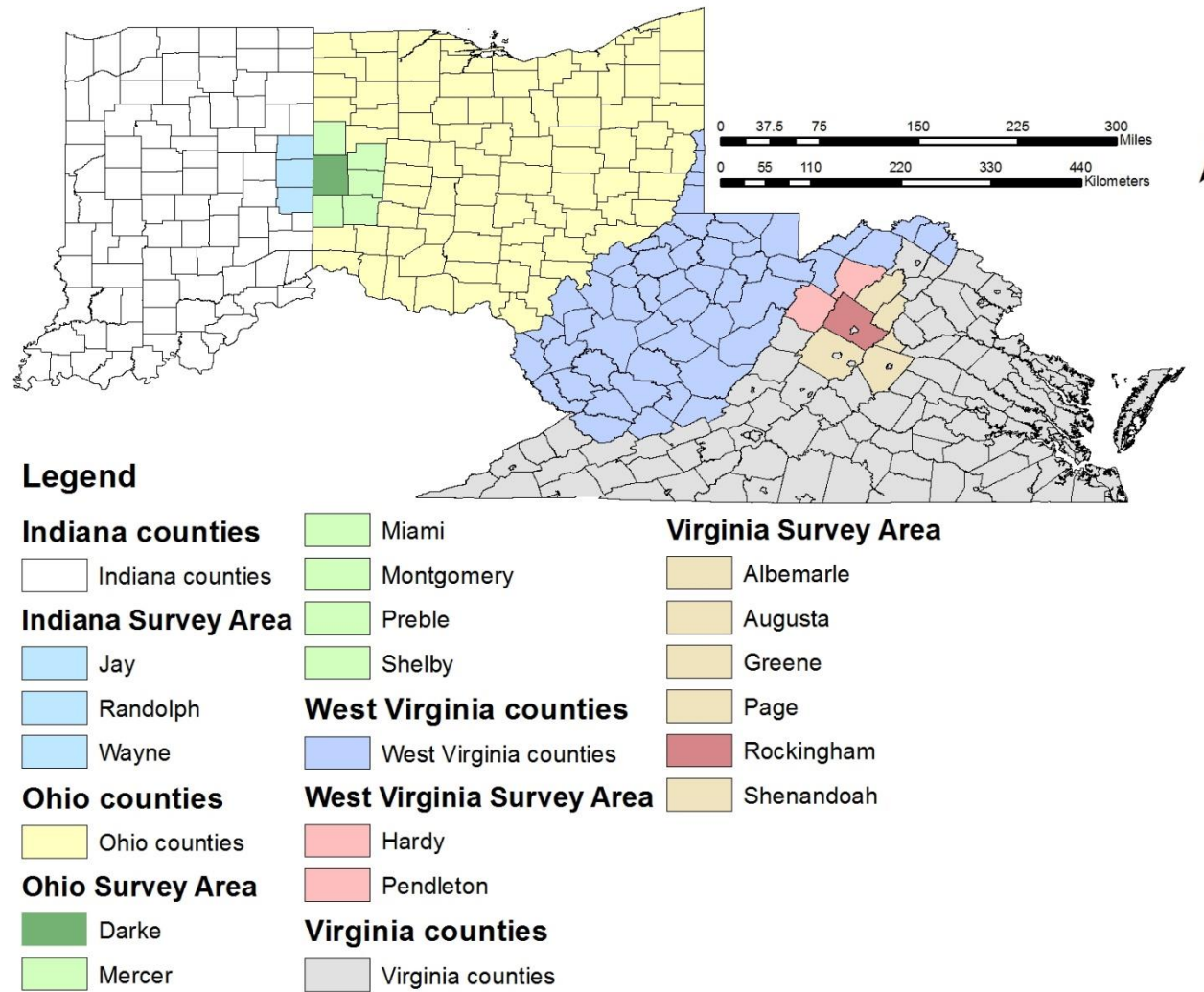


Figure 8: Map of architectural survey areas. Created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2017.

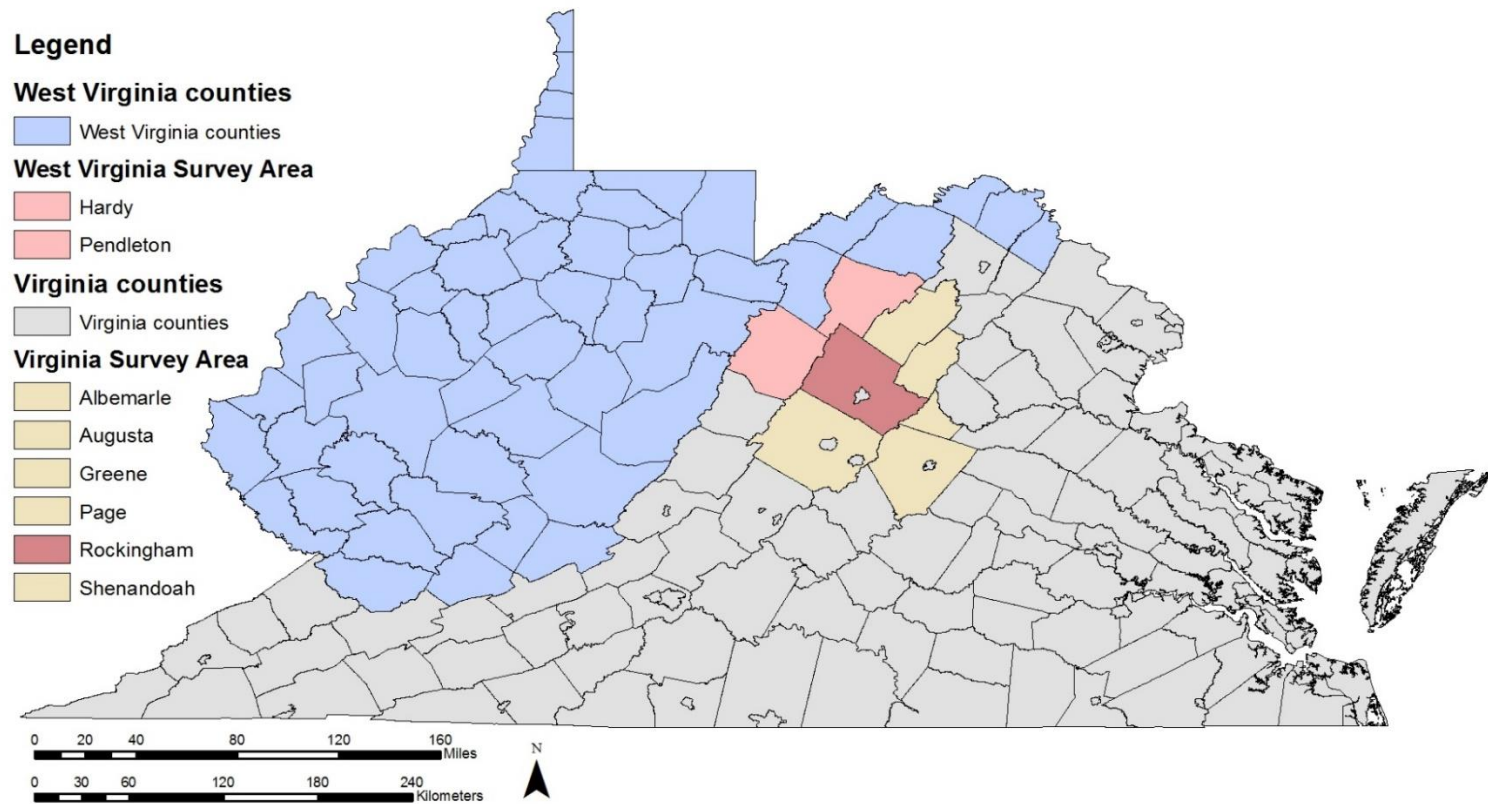


Figure 9: Map of Southeastern architectural survey region. Created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2017.

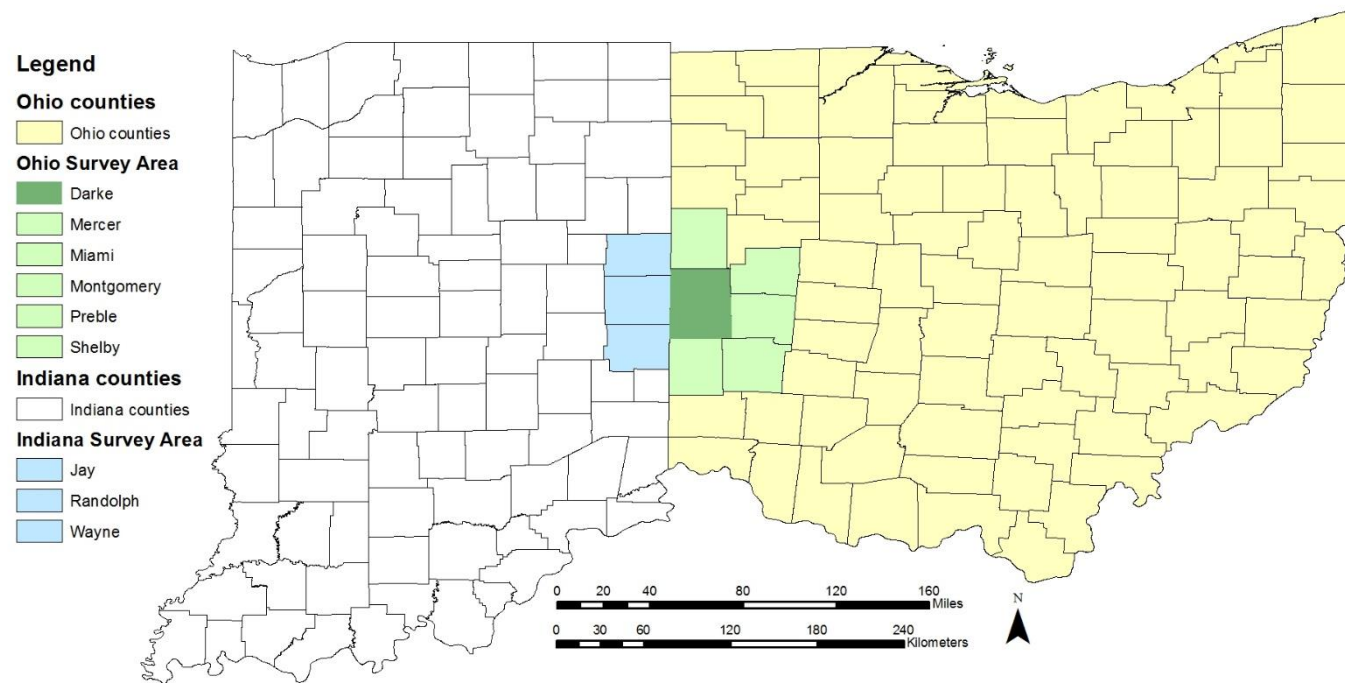


Figure 10: Map of Midwestern architectural survey region. Created by the author in ArcGIS 10.3.1, 2017.

Chapter 6:

Results

Chapter 6 outlines the results of both my architectural survey and the extant archaeological work from the Clemens farm site. I begin here with the results of my architectural analysis for the Virginia and West Virginia survey area, then do the same with the results from Ohio and Indiana. That is followed briefly by a summation of those results together, and a succinct summary of the ceramic and faunal assemblages from the Clemens farm as they have bearings on the Clemens' material agency.

Results for Virginia and West Virginia

Construction Material

It is important when discussing the results for construction material that I refer back to the limitation of that data point discussed in Chapter 5. It is notable that brick and stone have significantly more longevity than weatherboard or log. The more organic dwellings could have decayed naturally, or been torn down to avoid decline in condition. In some instances, construction material can also be indicative of the economic resources of the individuals who were constructing the dwelling. Hewn log was often more readily available, particularly as the Mid-Atlantic and later the Midwest regions were being initially settled by non-indigenous people moving westward. This was also a material that individuals could acquire and construct themselves (McAlester 2013:38-40). Frame and weatherboard structures are more processed, rather than a raw material (McAlester 2013:38-40). Stone dwellings could be constructed from naturally occurring cobbles or intentionally carved blocks from a stone source area, but stone

structures are less common. Bricks had to be formed, fired, and laid in proper masonry (McAlester 2013:40).

In this sample, there were 177 sites with construction material information (see Figure 11). Of this sample, the majority of structures (47.46%) were constructed from brick. Weatherboard structures were the second most represented (27.68%) building material (meaning a weatherboarded wood-frame structure). Additional construction materials (in order of frequency) were stone; log; brick and weatherboard combined; and log and stone combined.

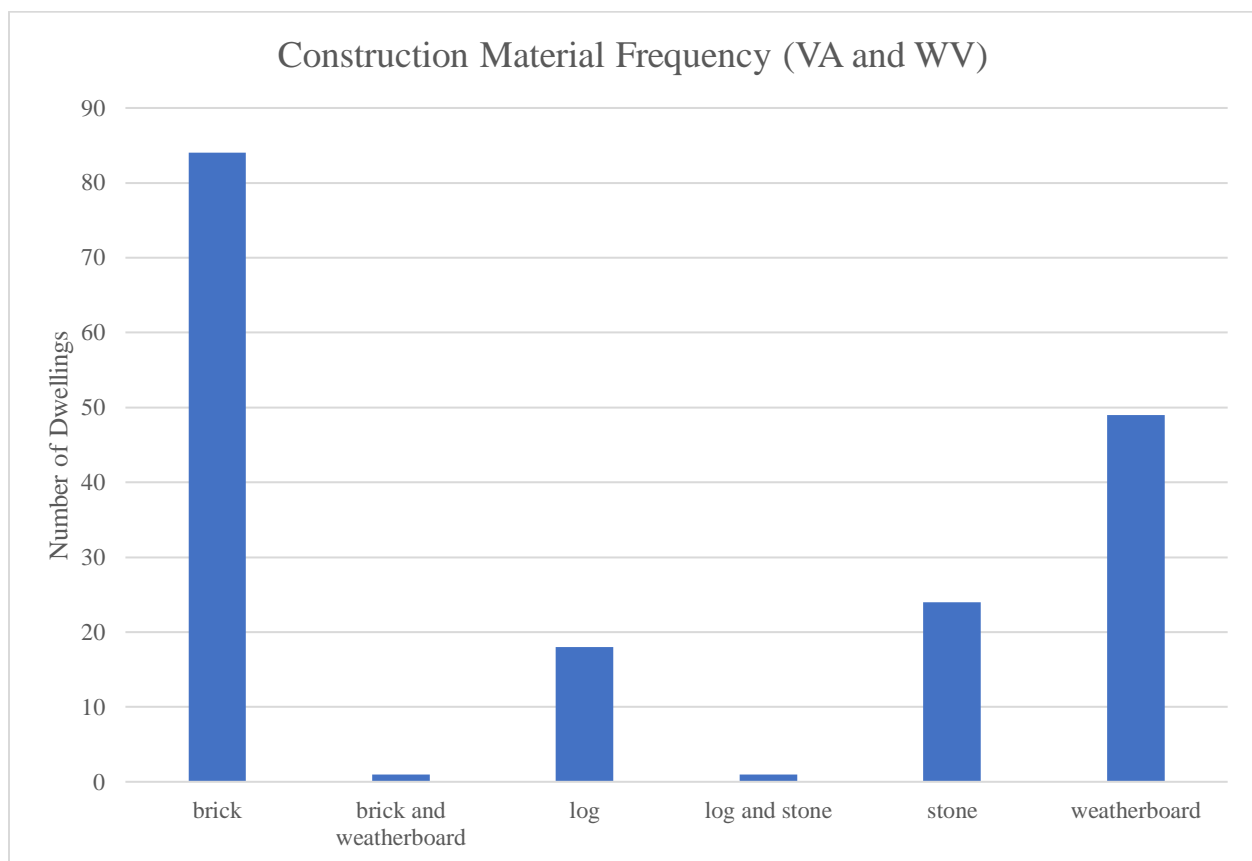


Figure 11: Construction Material Frequency (VA and WV)

It is significant also to observe the construction materials by time period because the distribution of construction materials is not singularly represented by overall summary numbers. The results differ when broken down to more fine-scale detail and this allows for the observation of change over time. As described in Chapter 5, the 80-year time frame for this architectural sample was analyzed as a whole, and then further analyzed in twenty-year intervals. Those intervals were 1750-1770, 1771-1790, 1791-1810, and 1811-1830 (see Figure 12).

Of structures dated to between 1750 and 1770 ($n=22$), the majority were not brick-constructed, but rather weatherboard (45.45%). Log and stone-constructed domestic sites each represented 18.18% of the sample, respectively. Next, brick structures only comprised 13.64% of sites identified in this time span, followed only by structures made of a combination of log and stone. Again, between 1771 and 1790, brick was not the most common construction material (structures $n=17$). In this period, log and stone-constructed dwellings each represented 29.41% of the sample, followed closely by weatherboard structures at 23.53%, with brick occupying the lowest percentage of structures (17.65%). It is between 1791-1810 that brick becomes the dominant construction material in this regional sample, tracing the general shift from a pioneer settler environment to an established agrarian society. Approximately half of the sample was brick-constructed dwellings (50.94%), followed by weatherboard (35.85%), with stone and log construction also represented in smaller quantities—there was only one instance of log construction. Brick continues to dominate through the 1811-1830 sample as well (sample $n=51$). Brick makes up 76.47% of all sites constructed within these two decades. Weatherboard structures make up 13.73%, and stone and log structures were also represented in lesser amounts. Finally, there were 34 sites in this overall sample that did have a conclusive construction date available. In this group, brick-construction was also the most common, comprising 38.24% of

sites. Weatherboard, again, was the second most common at 26.47%. Log, stone, and a combination of brick and weatherboard were also represented in lesser amounts.

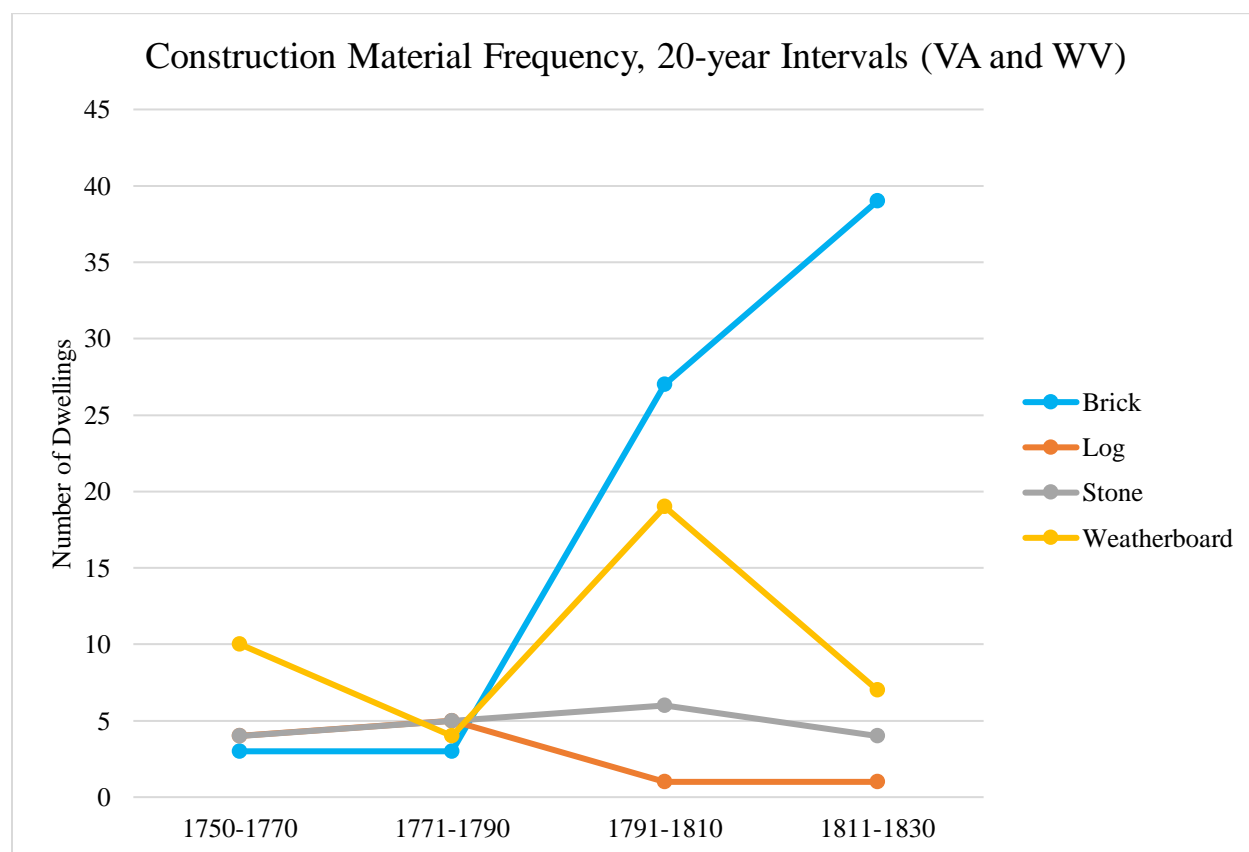


Figure 12: Construction Material Frequency, 20-year Intervals (VA and WV)

Architectural Style

The data gathered was consolidated into 26 categories of architectural style, with 156 sites that had a determinable architectural style (see Chapter 5, Table 3 for additional details and descriptions of all styles included in this survey). Eleven of these architectural styles are represented by one structure only. Due to this low representation, only architectural styles representing 5% or more of the sample are addressed here (see Figure 13). The most commonly represented style is the I-house, constituting 24.36% of this sample. Federal-style structures were the second most common, representing 18.59% of the sites. Additional styles with good

representation were Georgian, Colonial Greek Revival, Vernacular, Pioneer Settler Cabin, Rectangular Plan, and Classical Revival.

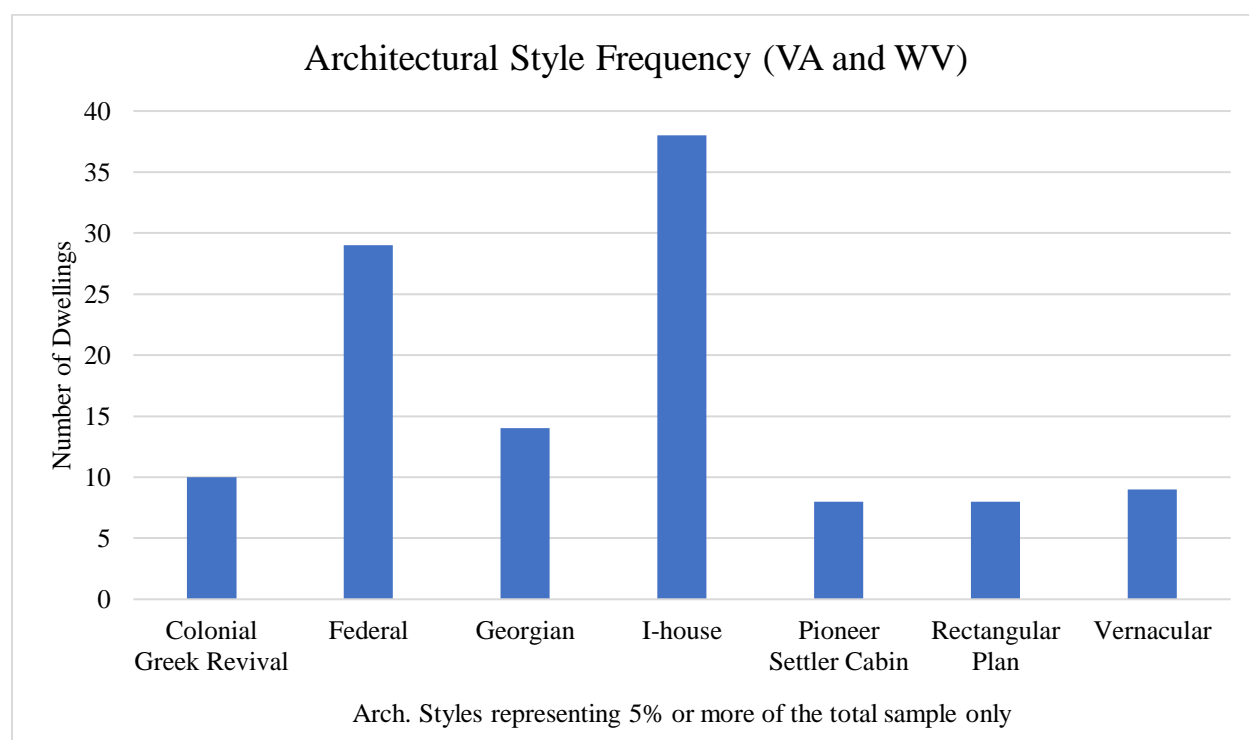


Figure 13: Architectural Style Frequency (VA and WV)

Again, addressing these identifiers by smaller, more discrete time units is beneficial to understanding their development, distribution, and sphere of influence (see Figure 14).

Following in the same 20-year divisions as mentioned above, the most commonly encountered architectural style in this region between 1750 and 1770 (n=18 sites) was Vernacular architecture (27.78%). I-houses were the second most common style, comprising 22.22% of this sample.

Germanic-style architecture was also represented, which is reflective of the settler history of the Shenandoah Valley region (Chappell 1986:27-28). Colonial, Colonial Greek Revival, Federal, Folk Victorian, Georgian, Rectangular Plan, and Southern Colonial Revival were all represented

as styles but only in one instance each. Between 1771 and 1790 (n=15 sites) the most common style was Federal, comprising 33.33% of the sample. The I-house style and Pioneer Settler Cabin were the next most represented. Continental, Gabled Roof, Georgian, Palladian, and Single-pen styles were also represented by a single instance each within this sample. Between 1791 and 1810 (n=48 sites), the most prevalent architectural style was again, Federal, comprising 27.08% of the sample. I-houses were also well-represented, at 25.00% of the identified sites. Rectangular Plan, Pioneer Settler Cabins, and Colonial Greek Revival also characterized multiple sites. Classical Revival, Cottages, Jeffersonian, Palladian, and Vernacular styles were also identified with only one instance each. Between 1811 and 1830 (n=46 sites) the most common architectural style was the I-house, making up 30.43% of the sample. Federal style structures were the second most common at 19.57% of the sample. There were also multiple instances of Colonial Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Jeffersonian, and Vernacular architecture. Classical Revival, Colonial, Continental, Georgian, Greek Revival, L-plan, Pioneer Settler Cabins, Rectangular Plan, Roman Revival, and a steeply gabled structure were also styles found with a single instance each.

As was the case with construction material, there were sites identified which had a determinable architectural style but not a clearly defined date, and thus were analyzed in a separate category. In this sample, I-houses and Classical Revival style structures were the most commonly represented, at 17.24% of the sample, respectively. There were two instances of each of the following styles: Georgian, Germanic, Greek Revival, Pioneer Settler Cabins, and Rectangular plans. Colonial, Colonial Greek Revival, Continental, Double-pile, Federal, Hall and Parlor, Single-pile Double-pen, and Vernacular styles were also represented by one instance each, comprising 3.45% of the sample, respectively.

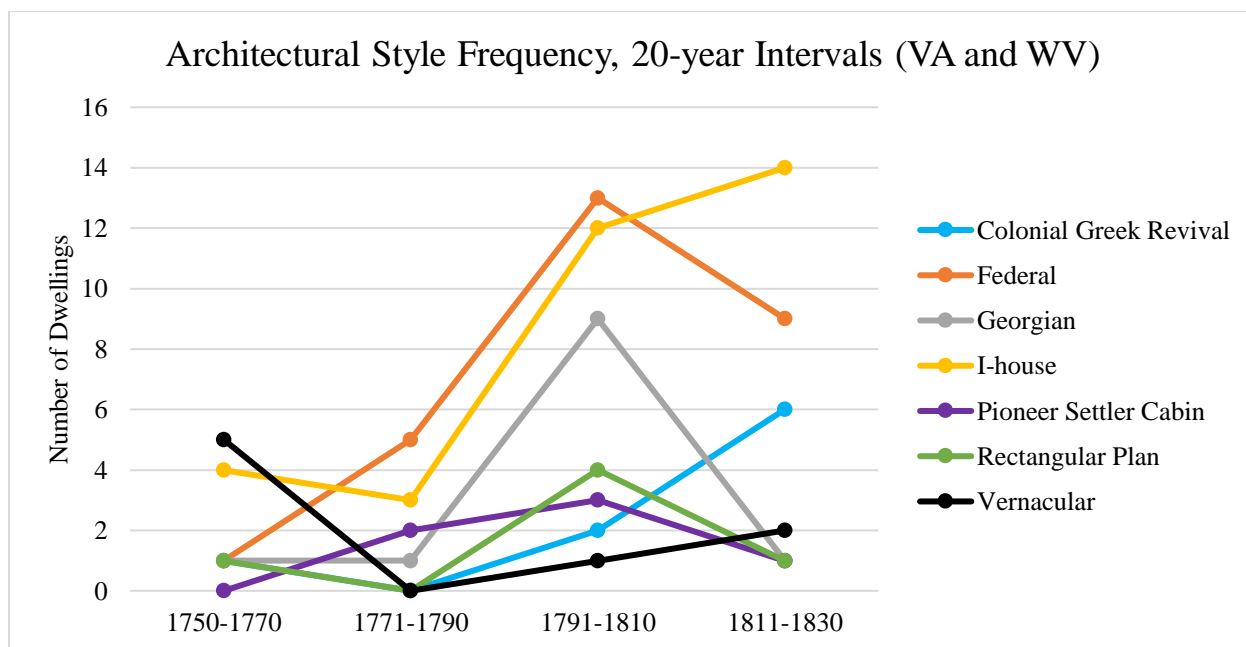


Figure 14: Architectural Style Frequency, 20-year Intervals (VA and WV)

Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials

It is important to note that the most common construction material and the most common architectural style are not mutually exclusive. It also seems important to illustrate the relationship between these two categories. In the entirety of the sample (n=153 sites), the I-house was the most commonly represented architectural style. Both brick and weatherboard-constructed dwellings were dominated by I-houses, and by the Federal style. Stone structures were also most commonly I-houses, but also there were multiple instances of Rectangular-plan stone houses. Log construction manifested as both Pioneer Settler Cabins, and Germanic-style architecture. Combination brick and weatherboard construction was represented in Vernacular architecture. Combination log and stone architecture was most commonly found in rectangular-plan structures (see Table 5).

Table 5: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, entire sample)

Construction Material (entire sample—in order of frequency—most common first)	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	I-house; Federal
weatherboard	I-house; Federal
stone	I-house; Rectangular plan
log	Pioneer Settler Cabin; Germanic
brick and weatherboard	Vernacular
log and stone	Rectangular plan

Between 1750 and 1770, when weatherboard was the most common construction material in the sample, it was most represented by the I-house style, and then by Vernacular construction. Log houses were the next most common, and in this period, those were constructed in the Germanic style (Chappell 1986). Stone constructed dwellings were primarily constructed in Vernacular styles, but also some Colonial styles. Brick constructed dwellings were represented as Colonial Greek Revival, Georgian, and Federal styles. The combined log and stone construction was represented by Rectangular Plan architecture (see Table 6).

Table 6: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, 1750-1770)

Construction Material 1750-1770	Most commonly appeared as:
weatherboard	I-house; Vernacular
log	Germanic
stone	Vernacular; Colonial (general)
brick	Colonial Greek Revival; Georgian; Federal (one instance of each)
log and stone	Rectangular plan

Sites identified between 1771 and 1790 were primarily constructed from logs, and most commonly represented as Pioneer Settler Cabins. Stone-constructed I-houses and Federal-style dwellings were the next most represented. Weatherboard structures were represented by one instance of an I-house, Federal style, and Palladian architecture. Lastly, the only style of brick construction during this period was Federal (see Table 7).

Table 7: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, 1771-1790)

Construction Material 1771-1790	Most commonly appeared as:
log	Pioneer Settler Cabin
stone	I-house; Federal
weatherboard	I-house; Federal; Palladian (one instance of each)
brick	Federal

From 1791 until 1810, brick-constructed Federal style and I-house styles were the most common architectural sites documented in this sample. Weatherboard dwellings were most represented as I-houses and Georgian-style architecture. Stone houses were, again, most commonly of a Rectangular Plan during this period. Log structures were most commonly manifested in the Pioneer Settler Cabin style (see Table 8).

Table 8: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, 1791-1810)

Construction Material 1791-1810	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	Federal; I-house
weatherboard	I-house; Georgian
stone	Rectangular plan
log	Pioneer Settler Cabin

Between 1811 and 1830 the most common construction material was brick, and it most commonly manifested as I-houses and Federal-style architecture. Weatherboard dwellings were also common, following behind brick in popularity, and were also most commonly Federal in style. Stone-constructed dwellings in this period were represented by one instance each of Rectangular Plan, I-house, and Continental-style architecture. Once more, log structures most commonly manifested in the Pioneer Settler Cabin form (see Table 9).

Table 9: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, 1811-1830)

Construction Material 1811-1830	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	I-house; Federal
weatherboard	Federal
stone	Rectangular plan; I-house; Continental (one instance of each)
log	Pioneer Settler Cabin

Among those sites that could not be comfortably dated within a 20-year range, brick was the most common building material and appeared most often as the Georgian and I-house styles. Weatherboard structures, then, were manifested in Classical Revival and I-house styles. Lastly, structures with a combination of brick and weatherboard construction were represented as Vernacular architecture (see Table 10).

Table 10: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (VA and WV, inconclusive dates)

Construction Material (inconclusive date range)	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	Georgian; I-house
weatherboard	Classical Revival; I-house
log	Pioneer Settler Cabin
brick and weatherboard	Vernacular

Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles

The four most common architectural styles in this sample—I-house, Federal, Georgian, and Colonial Greek Revival—were all most often noted as brick-constructed. Vernacular structures, then, were most commonly constructed with weatherboard. Pioneer Settler Cabins were most represented as log-constructed dwellings. Lastly, Rectangular Plan homes were found most often to be built from stone (see Table 11).

Table 11: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, entire sample)

Architectural Style (entire sample—in order of frequency—most common first)	Most commonly appeared as:
I-house	brick
Federal	brick
Georgian	brick
Colonial Greek Revival	brick
Vernacular	weatherboard
Pioneer Settler Cabin	log
Rectangular plan	stone

These commonalities break down a bit differently by twenty-year intervals, though. Between 1750 and 1770, Vernacular style structures constructed of stone were the most common. I-houses featuring weatherboard façades were the next most common in this period. Lastly, Germanic structures made from log were also represented (see Table 12).

Table 12: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, 1750-1770)

Architectural style 1750-1770	Most commonly appeared as:
Vernacular	stone
I-house	weatherboard
Germanic	log

Federal style structures composed of brick and stone were the most represented in this sample between 1771 and 1790. I-houses made from stone were also represented. Lastly, this period boasted Pioneer Settler Cabins constructed from log (see Table 13).

Table 13: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, 1771-1790)

Architectural Style 1771-1790	Most commonly appeared as:
Federal	brick; stone
I-house	stone
Pioneer Settler Cabin	log

Between 1791 and 1810 Federal style structures constructed out of brick were the most common. I-houses constructed of brick and weatherboard were also well-represented. Georgian style structures made of brick, and Rectangular-plan structures made of stone were also noted within this period. Lastly, there were a few examples of Pioneer Settler Cabins constructed of weatherboard, and Colonial Greek Revival dwellings constructed of brick (see Table 14).

Table 14: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, 1791-1810)

Architectural Style 1791-1810	Most commonly appeared as:
Federal	brick
I-house	brick; weatherboard
Georgian	brick
Rectangular plan	stone
Pioneer Settler Cabin	weatherboard
Colonial Greek Revival	brick

Between the years of 1811 and 1830 the four most common architectural styles—I-houses, Federal style structures, Colonial Greek Revival structures, and Jeffersonian structures—were all most commonly documented as being brick-constructed. Gothic Revival and Vernacular

structures were also documented in this period, and were equally represented as brick and weatherboard structures (see Table 15).

Table 15: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, 1811-1830)

Architectural style 1811-1830	Most commonly appeared as:
I-house	brick
Federal	brick
Colonial Greek Revival	brick
Jeffersonian	brick
Gothic Revival	brick; weatherboard
Vernacular	brick; weatherboard

The only two architectural styles that were recorded without a discrete date designation were Classical Revival structures and I-houses. The Classical Revival structures were most commonly represented in weatherboard construction, while the I-houses were equally weatherboard and brick structures (see Table 16).

Table 16: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (VA and WV, inconclusive dates)

Architectural Style (inconclusive date range)	Most commonly appeared as:
Classical Revival	weatherboard
I-house	brick; weatherboard

Chimney Attributes: Location

Chimneys are located in different portions of structures for varying reasons. In many dwellings, the chimneys and their associated fireplaces were used for cooking and also for providing internal heat for the structure. Here, chimneys have been categorized as central or end, and end chimneys were further divided into internal and external end chimneys, when possible.

Central chimneys provide a central heat source, but also require that the cooking take place in the center of the dwelling—which is more or less desirable, depending on the plan of the home, the socio-economic status of the family, and the purposes that the internal spaces serves, i.e. private vs. public spaces. Central chimneys also pose a fire hazard, in that they could result in a fire beginning in the middle of the home and spreading in all directions.

End chimneys, either one for the entire home, or one at each end, place the heat source and cooking location at one (or both) ends of a dwelling. If the plan has a single room on each floor, then the heat would be more evenly distributed than if there were two rooms, divided by a central hallway, in which case the heat distribution to the opposite side would be limited. In some instances, an end chimney can be slightly less a fire hazard than a central chimney.

Internal vs. external end chimneys also serve different purposes, both functionally and aesthetically. With the actual structure of the chimney contained within the home, more heat is retained, in less time, with less energy expenditure. External chimneys are, obviously, primarily external to the dwelling with only the fireplace as an intercessor between the internal home space and the chimney space. Because they are primarily outdoors, more heat is expelled through the walls of the chimney into surrounding air.

Of sites that had available chimney information, the following combinations of chimney location were identified: one central and one end chimney; two external end and one internal chimney; two internal end and one central chimney; one central chimney; external end chimney(s); and internal end chimney(s). The majority (40.3%) of sites within this sample (n=134 sites) were identified as having external end chimneys. Internal end chimneys were the next most represented in this sample, comprising 35.82%. Central chimneys comprised 12.69% of the sample, and 7.46% of structures had end chimneys that could not be classified as internal

or external. Either this information was not recorded in the narrative of the respective architectural survey, there was not an available image, or there was something obscuring the view of the ends of the structure, and thus, the chimney(s). There were three sites that had two external end chimneys as well as a central chimney. Lastly, there was one instance of a structure with a central chimney and an end chimney, and one instance of two internal end chimneys with an additional central chimney (see Figure 15).

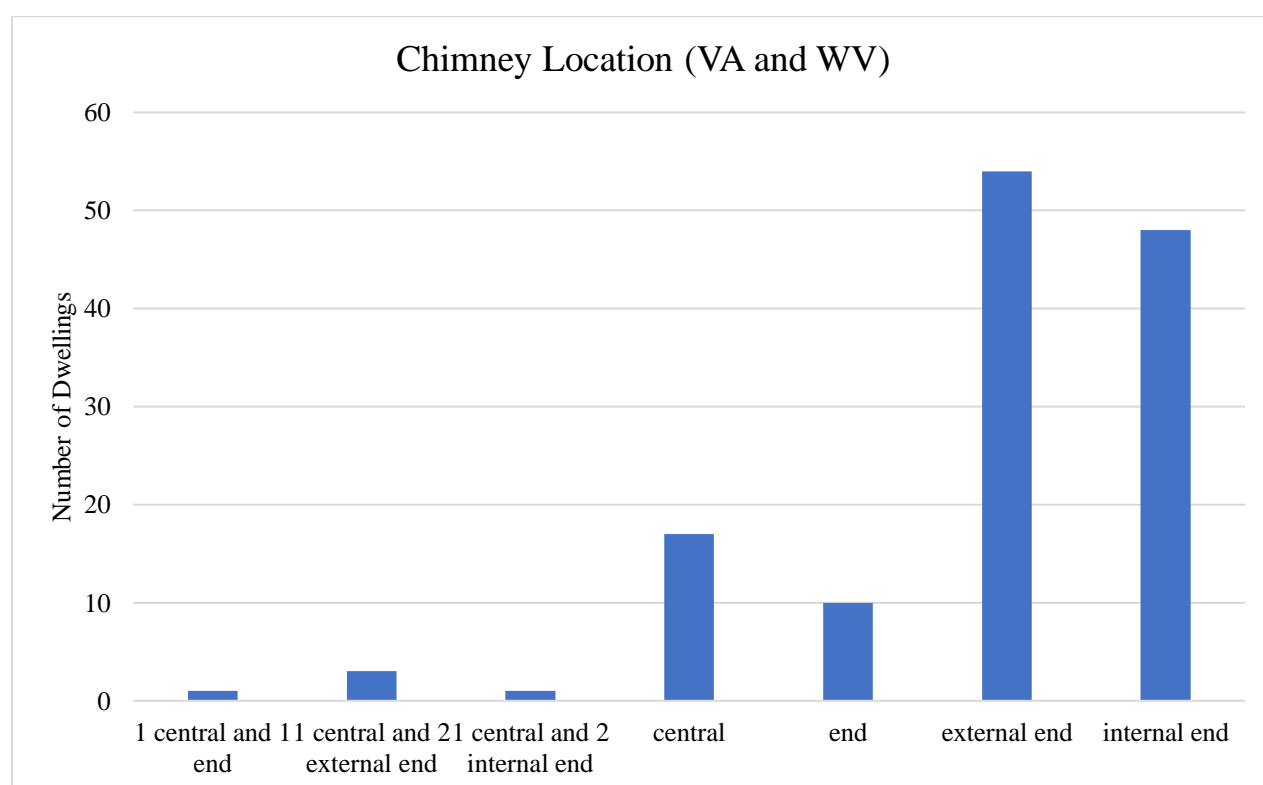


Figure 15: Chimney Location (VA and WV)

Between 1750 and 1770, both central and external end chimneys were equally represented in the sample, making up 38.1%, respectively. Internal end chimneys were an additional 19.05%. Lastly, there was one instance of a structure with one central and one end chimney. Only internal and external end chimneys characterized the period between 1771 and

1790. Internal end chimneys comprised 60% of the sample, while the remaining 40% were external end. Again, external and internal end chimneys, comprising 17% and 13% of the sample, respectively, also dominated the period between 1791 and 1810. 12.82% of the sample were end chimneys that could not be further categorized. There were three structures (7.69%) that had central chimneys. Lastly, there was one instance of a structure with two external end chimneys in conjunction with one central. Between 1811 and 1830, 47.5% of the identified sites had internal end chimneys, while 30% had external end chimneys. 12.5% of this sample were end chimneys that could not be determined as internal or external. Central chimneys combined with a singular end chimney were equally represented at 5% of the sample, each. The remaining sites were dominated by external end chimneys, at 54.17% of the sample. 25% of this sample were internal end chimneys. There were also sites with a single central chimney, and one site that documented two internal end chimneys in conjunction with a central chimney (see Figure 16).

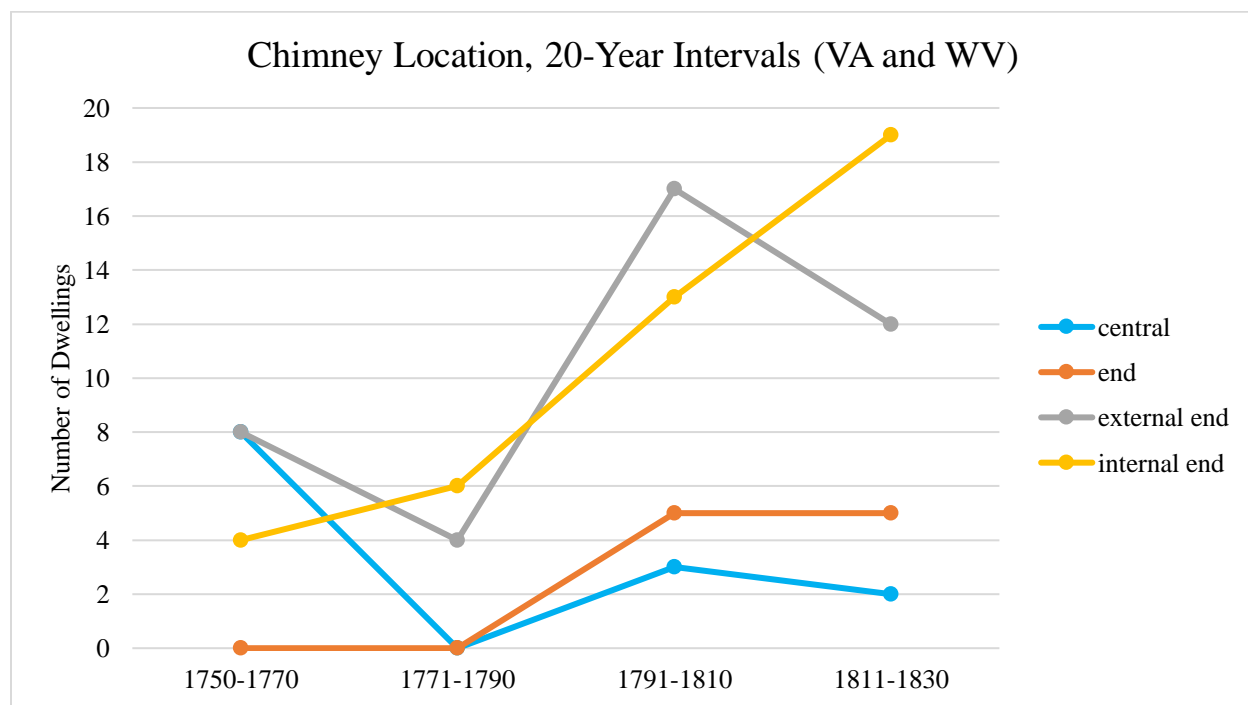


Figure 16: Chimney Location, 20-year Intervals (VA and WV)

Chimney Attributes: Quantity

The sites addressed in this architectural survey had total quantities of chimneys in the following amounts: one, two, three, four, and six chimneys (see Figure 17). I added an additional category of “1, possibly 2” chimneys. This category refers to instances in which the quantity of chimneys was not addressed in the original architectural surveys, there was not an image available, or there was something in the image that obscured one end of the structure, making it impossible to determine whether or not there was a chimney present. Considering the Virginia and West Virginia sample as a whole (n=136 sites with a determinable number of chimneys), a significant 62.5% of the sample were structures with two chimneys. An additional quarter (25%) of the sample only had one chimney per structure. 8.85% of sites in this sample had four chimneys. Multiple sites had three chimneys or were classified as one-possible two chimneys, and there was one instance of a structure that contained six chimneys.

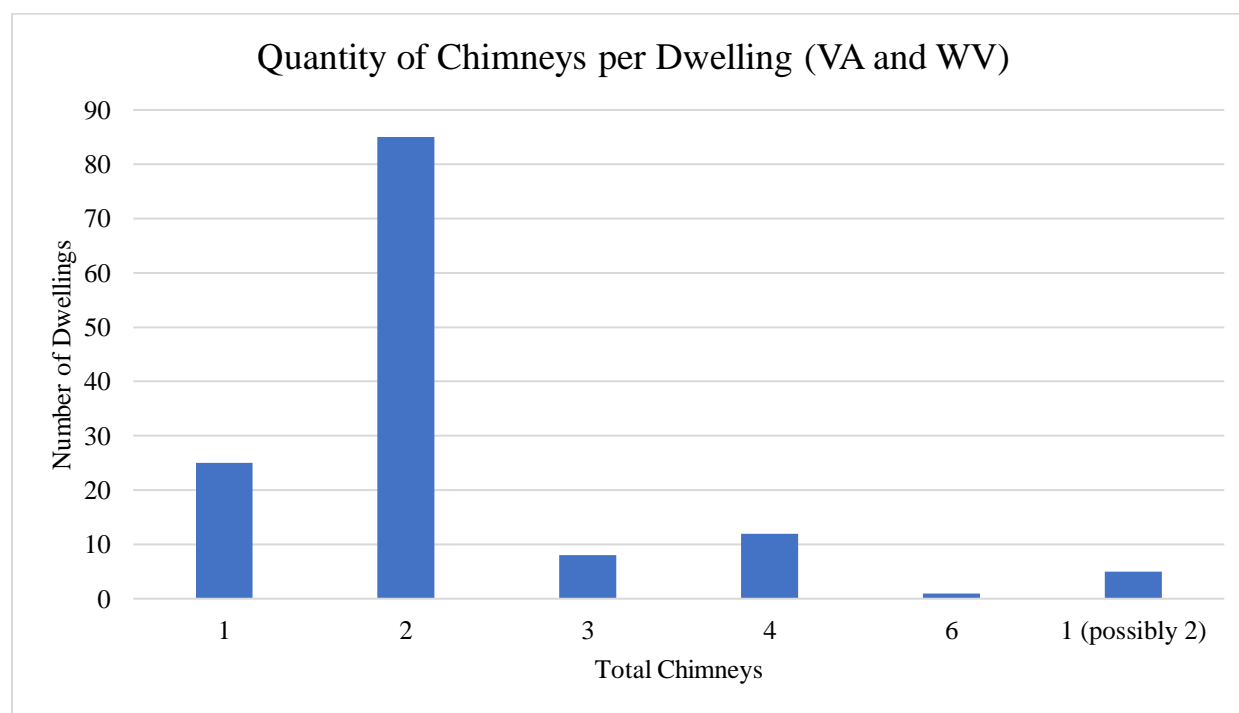


Figure 17: Quantity of Chimneys per Dwelling (VA and WV)

Between 1750 and 1770, structures with one and two chimneys were equally represented, at 42.86% of the sample, respectively. There were two instances (9.52% of the sample) of structures with four chimneys. Lastly, there was one instance of a structure that had one-possibly two chimneys. Nearly all the structures (83.33%) recorded with dates between 1771 and 1790 were documented as having two chimneys. The remaining two structures had either one chimney or three chimneys, respectively. Between 1791 and 1810, again, two chimneys was the most common quantity (71.05% of the sample) for a domestic structure. 10.53% of this sample was structures with a single chimney. Both four chimneys and one-possibly two chimneys comprised 7.89% of the sample, each. Lastly, there was one instance in this sample of a structure with three chimneys. Continuing the trend, again, structures noted between 1811 and 1830 were dominated by those with two chimneys (67.5% of the sample). 17.5% of this sample was comprised of sites that had four chimneys; 10% of sites had three chimneys; and 5% only a singular chimney. Of those chimneys that could not be restricted to a tight date range, the majority of structures (48%) had two chimneys. 36% of the sample had a singular chimney; 8% of the sample had three chimneys; and there was one instance each of a structure with six chimneys, and one with one-possibly two chimneys (see Figure 18).

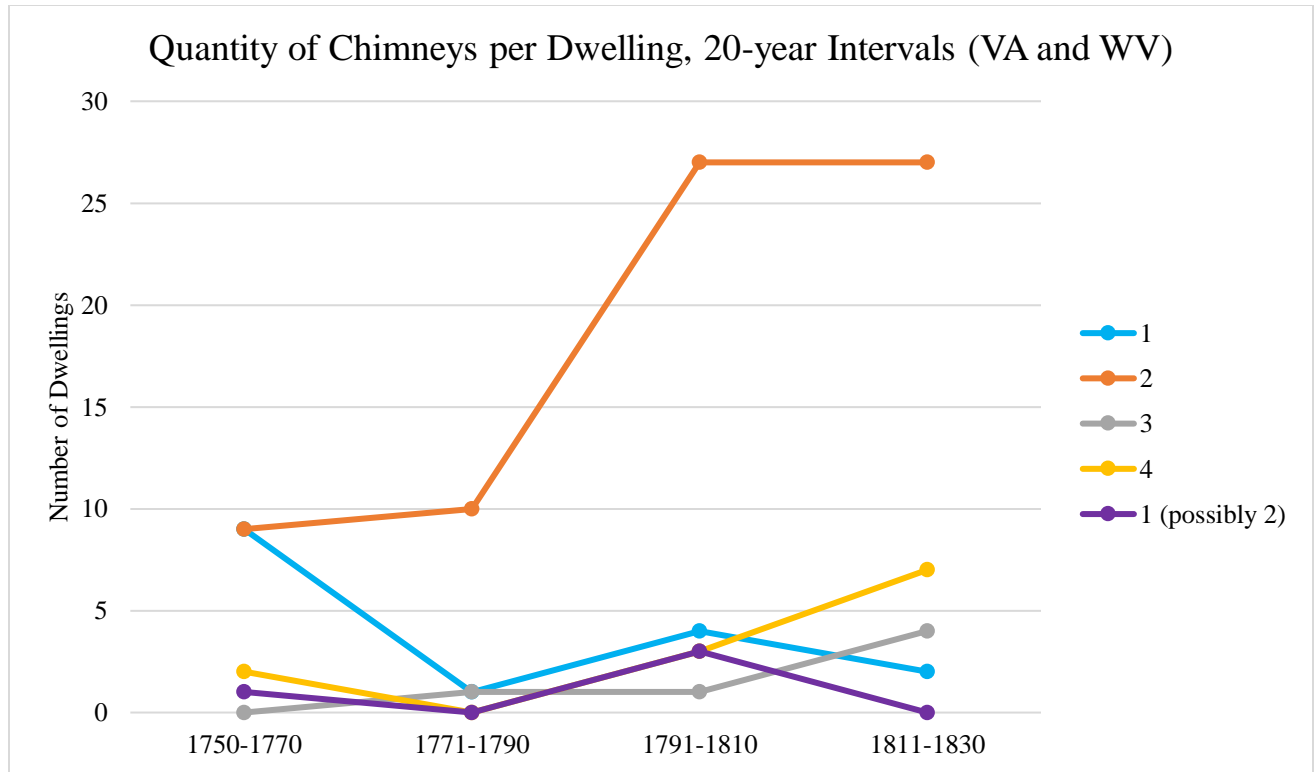


Figure 18: Quantity of Chimneys per Dwelling, 20-year Intervals (VA and WV)

Chimney Attributes: Construction Material

Across the sample, four materials were identified as having been used in the construction of chimneys and they are as follows: brick; limestone; stone; and stone and brick together (see Figure 19). Overwhelmingly, (85.12% of the sample) the chimneys in this survey were constructed of brick. 12.4% of chimneys were stone. Two sites had specifically limestone chimneys (mined in the region). There was one instance recorded of a combination brick and stone chimney—a combination known as “composite masonry” (McAlester 2013:53).

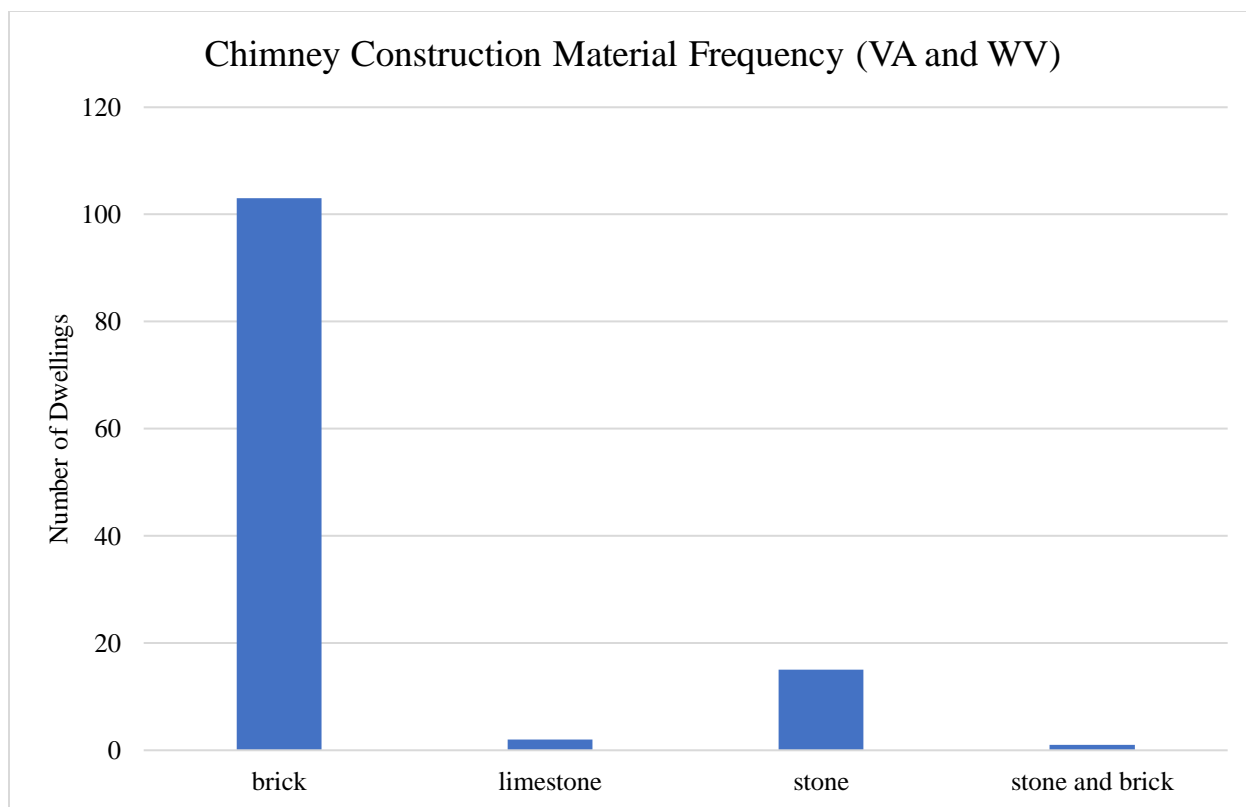


Figure 19: Chimney Construction Material Frequency (VA and WV)

Only two chimney materials were used on structures dated between 1750 and 1770: brick and stone. 83.33% of the chimneys were brick constructed, with the balance being made of unidentified stone. Structures between 1771 and 1790 tell a similar story, with the addition of the stone and brick combination chimney (only one instance in a sample of 10, thus 10%). 60% of the chimneys were built of brick, and the remaining 30% were stone. Between 1791 and 1810, again, only brick and stone were represented, with brick comprising a significant majority, at 90.91% of the sample. The remaining instances were stone-constructed chimneys. Yet again, a notable 97.22% of the chimneys were brick-constructed between 1810 and 1830, with only one instance of stone construction. The final grouping of sites that could not be tightly categorized by date, but their data paint a similar picture—70.83% of the sample were brick-constructed

chimneys, with 20.83% being stone, and 8.33% being specifically noted as limestone chimneys (see Figure 20).

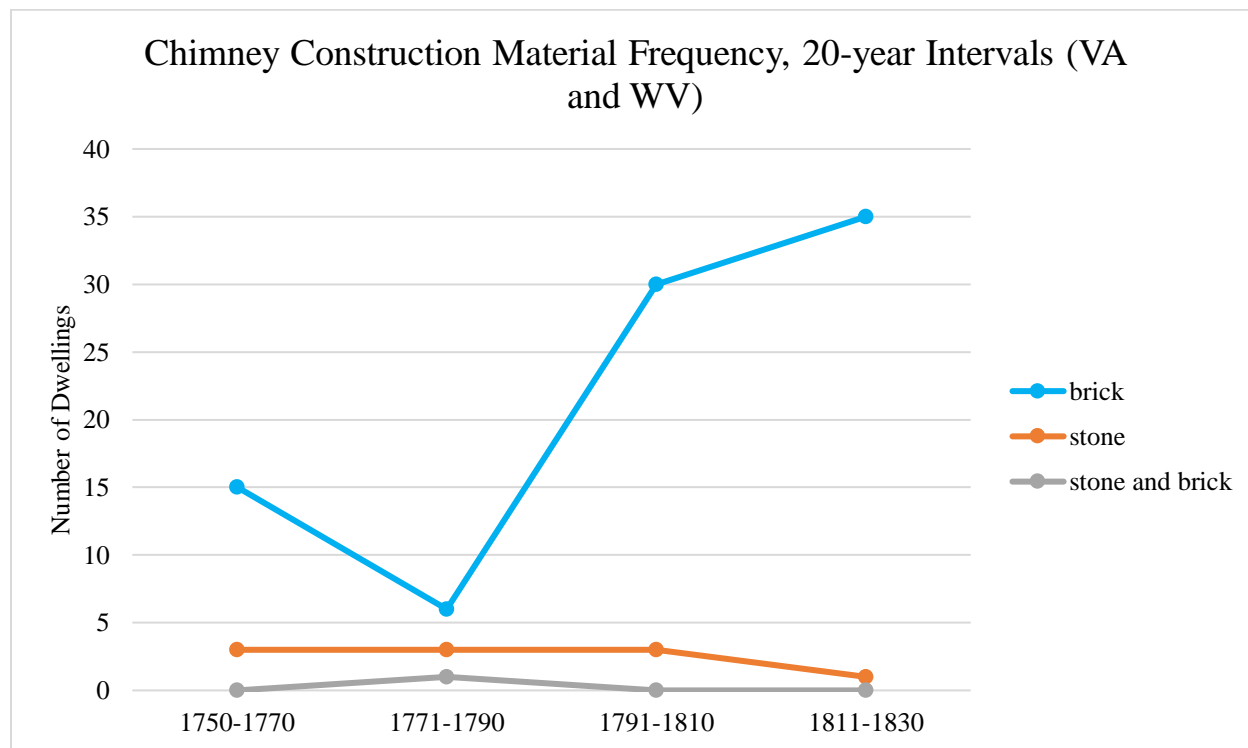


Figure 20: Chimney Construction Material Frequency, 20-year Intervals (VA and WV)

Results for Ohio and Indiana

Construction Material

In the dataset, 145 sites were documented with their primary construction material as an attribute (see Figure 21). Among those sites, seven construction materials were determined and are as follows: brick; stone; stone and brick; log; shingle; stucco; and weatherboard. In the sample as a whole, 63.45% of identified structures (with a construction material) were determined to be brick-constructed. An additional 18.62% of the structures were weatherboard,

and 9.65% were made of log. The other materials were represented, but in much smaller amounts (i.e. there was only one instance of a shingled-dwelling).

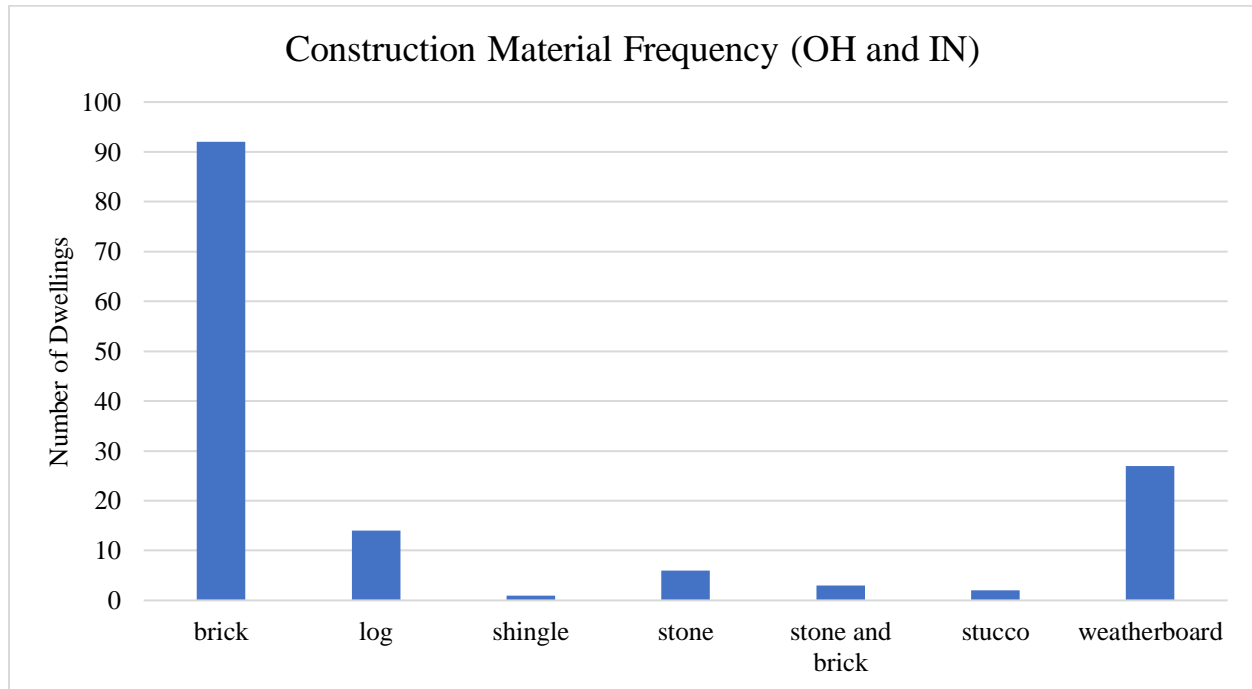


Figure 21: Construction Material Frequency (OH and IN)

Between 1810 and 1830, 50% of the sample were made of brick, with 22.73% of log, and 13.64% of stone and weatherboard, each. Similarly, for structures identified between 1831 and 1850, 67.50% of sites were brick structures. An additional 20% of sites were log-constructed dwellings. 7.5% of sites were weatherboard, and stone and stucco each represented only 2.5% of the sample for this time period. Between 1851 and 1870, again, the majority (69.23%) of structures were brick constructed. Weatherboard structures comprised an additional 17.95% of the sample. Finally, stone; stone and brick; log; shingle; and stucco all represented only 2.56% of the sample, respectively. For structures dated between 1871 and 1890, 58.54% were made of brick, and 34.15% were constructed with weatherboard. An additional two structures (4.87%)

were made of a combination of stone and brick, and finally there was one instance of stone construction. Only three sites in this sample had an indeterminate date range, and all those dwellings were brick-constructed (see Figure 22).

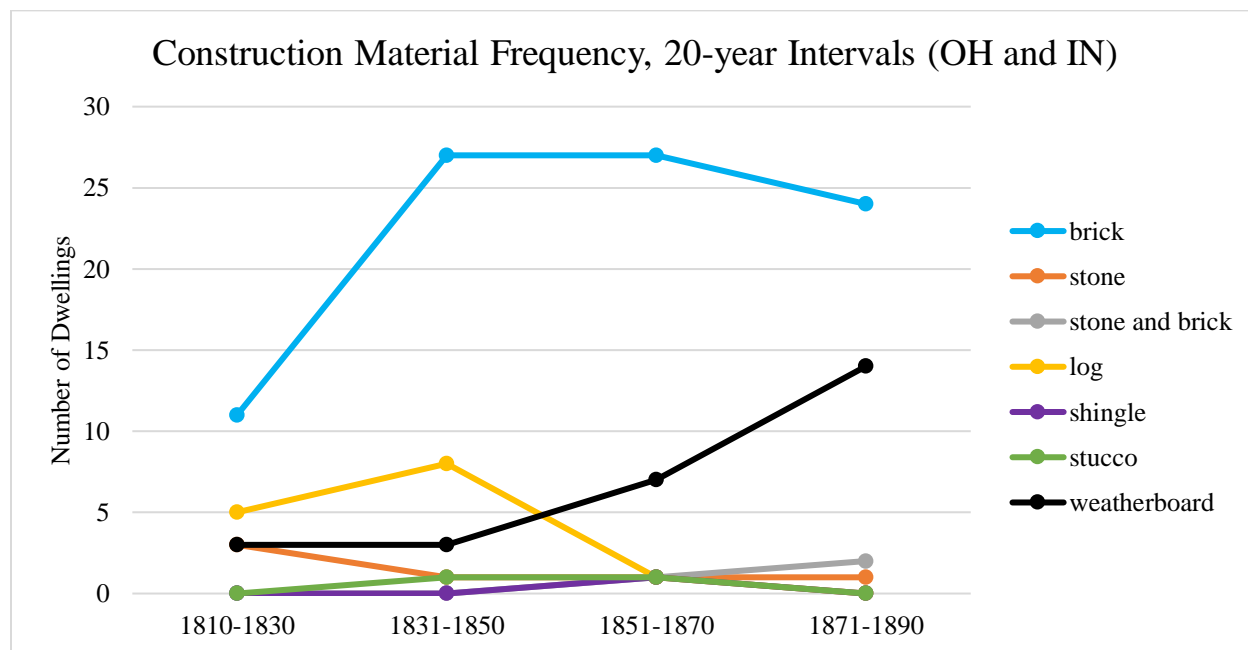


Figure 22: Construction Material Frequency, 20-year Intervals (OH and IN)

Architectural Style

Although the sample size for sites with a documented construction material was only n=145 sites, the data collected for Ohio and Indiana allowed for 1789 sites for which there was a documented architectural style (see Figure 23). This stems from the nature of the data sources (for further explanation, please see Chapter 5). Given the notable difference in sample sizes, it follows that there are significantly more architectural styles to be identified in this sample. There were many varieties, which were combined and standardized in order to make analysis effective (again, see Chapter 5, *Table 4* for additional explanation). The styles recorded for analysis were

as follows: American Four Square; American Renaissance; Bungalow; Carpenter/Builder; Central-Passage; Colonial Revival; Cottage; Cross-gabled; Cross-gabled Square-plan; Cross-plan; Cube; Double-entry Massed-plan; Double-Pen; Double-Pile; Dutch Colonial; Dutch Colonial Revival; Eastlake; Federal; Free Classic; Gabled-ell; Gable-front; Georgian; Gothic Revival; Greek Revival; Hall and Parlor; I-house; Italian Villa; Italianate; Late Victorian; Lazy-T Plan; L-Plan; Mid-19th Century Revival; Neo-Federal; Pioneer; Pyramidal; Queen Anne; Renaissance Tuscan Revival; Saltbox; Second Empire; Side-gabled; Single-Pen; Stack House; Stick Eastlake; T-plan; Tudor Revival; Upright and Wing; and Vernacular.

Due to this wide range of styles, part of the analysis was determining the styles which had a high-enough representation in order to be significant. The following are the only styles that represented 10% or more of this sample: I-houses (15.04%), Italianate structures (14.76%), and T-plan (13.14%). I find it important to note here that while I-houses were also common in Virginia and West Virginia, I-houses were nearly always matched in popularity by Federal-style architecture in the Shenandoah Valley, and that is not the case in this Midwestern sample. Styles that represented between 5 and 10% of the sample include Gable-front (7.54%), and Queen Anne (8.6%) architecture. The remaining styles comprised less than 5% of the overall sample, and thus become challenging to analyze on the whole, however, will be addressed again in the twenty-year interval results to follow.

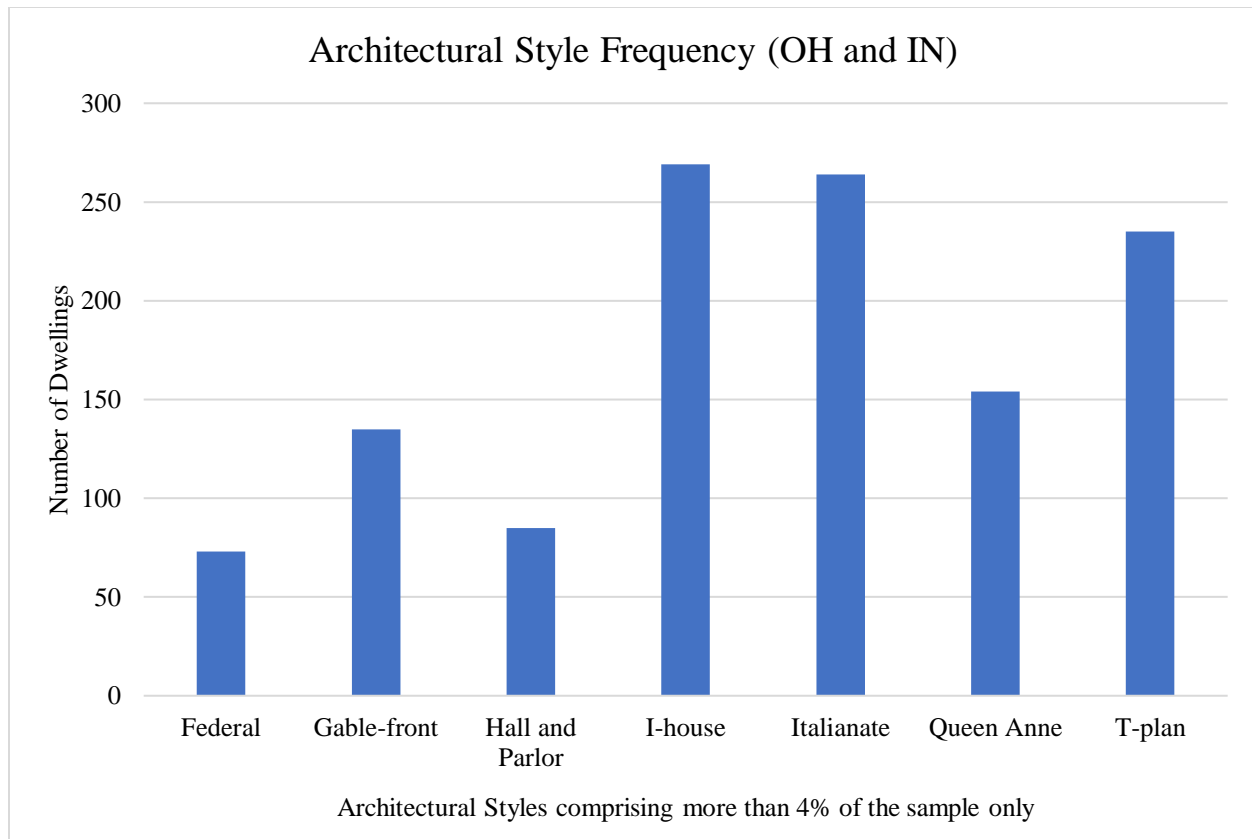


Figure 23: Architectural Style Frequency (OH and IN)

It is important to note that when viewed by twenty-year intervals, the breakdown of architecture in this sample does not look the same, and seems to indicate diverse sources of influence and social motivations for the styles that were chosen (see Figure 24). Between 1810 and 1830, the most common architectural style identified in this sample ($n=76$ sites) was the I-house (32.89%), which correlates with the results for the overall sample. This period differs, however, in that the second most common is Federal-style architecture (comprising 19.74% of the sample). Beyond that, 9.21% of the sample was Hall and Parlor style architecture, and Double-pile and Georgian architecture comprised an additional 6.57% each. Bungalows, Colonial Revival, Cottages, Double-pen, Dutch Colonial, Greek Revival, Italianate, Single-pen, Stack Houses, and T-plan structures were also represented in this sample.

The period between 1831 and 1850 shows the expansion of architectural styles in the Midwest region, with twenty-two styles identified (n=300 sites), compared with the previous twenty years' fifteen styles. This follows from the increasing permanence of residences in the region by this period. Again, I-houses were the predominant style (comprising 39.67% of the sample). Federal style structures were, again, the second most common style represented, at 14.67% of this sample. Cottages and Hall and Parlor architecture were also well-represented, comprising 9% and 7.66% of the sample, respectively. Beyond that, Central-passage, Crossed-gabled Square Plan, Cross Plan, Double-pen, Double-pile, Gable-front, Georgian, Gothic Revival, Greek Revival, Mid-19th Century Revival, Pioneer, Renaissance Tuscan Revival, Saltbox, Single-pen, Stack Houses, T-plan structures, and Upright and Wing were also represented.

Further, there was an efflorescence of architectural styles in this region into the next time period, 1851-1870, expanding on the previous twenty-two styles and containing twenty-eight styles across 473 architectural sites. Again, I-houses were the most represented architectural style at 16.91% of this sample. However, Italianate structures were only one instance behind at 16.7% of the sample. Gable-fronted structures represent the next most-common style in this period, including 50 sites and 10.57% of the sample. Central-passage (3.8%), Cottages (5.07%), Double-pile (5.28%), Greek Revival (6.55%), Hall and Parlor (7.82%), and T-plan (5.7%) were all also well-represented. Other styles that were noted (as less than 3% of the sample) were Bungalows, Carpenter/Builder, Cross-gabled, Cross-plan, Double-pen, Federal, Free Classic, Gabled-ell, Georgian, Gothic Revival, Italian Villa, Late Victorian, Lazy-T plan, L-plan, Queen Anne, Saltbox, Second Empire, Upright and Wing, and Vernacular architecture.

The increase of available site data and presence of diverse architectural styles continued to increase into the last time-period designation here—39 architectural styles dispersed across 927 architectural sites between 1871 and 1890. By this point in the architectural history of the region, I-houses were not the dominant architectural style, and Federal-style architecture was virtually non-existent (one site in a sample of more than 900). T-plan domestic structures clearly were the most common, comprising 22.01% of this sample. Italianate and Queen Anne structures were the next most common, comprising 18.23% and 16.07% of the sample, respectively. Carpenter/Builder (5.93%) and Vernacular (5.07%) structures were also well represented. Other styles noted during this period (but comprising less than 5% of the sample) were as follows: American Four Square; American Renaissance; Central-passage; Colonial Revival; Cottages; Cross-gabled; Cross-gabled Square plan; Cross-plan; Cube; Double-entry Massed Plan; Double-pen; Double-pile; Dutch Colonial Revival; Eastlake; Federal; Free Classic; Gabled-ell; Gable-front; Georgian; Gothic Revival; Greek Revival; Hall and Parlor; I-houses; Italian Villas; Lazy-T Plan; L-plan; Neo-Federal; Pyramidal; Saltbox; Second Empire; Side-gabled; Stick Eastlake; T-plan; Tudor Revival; and Upright and Wing.

Among the few sites (n=13 sites) which could not be organized into a twenty-year category, there were only eight architectural styles identified. The most common were I-houses and Italianate structures, both representing 23.08% of the sample, respectively. There were two instances of T-plan structures (15.38%). Lastly, there was one instance each of the following styles: Central-passage, Gothic Revival, Greek Revival, Late Victorian, and Single-pen.

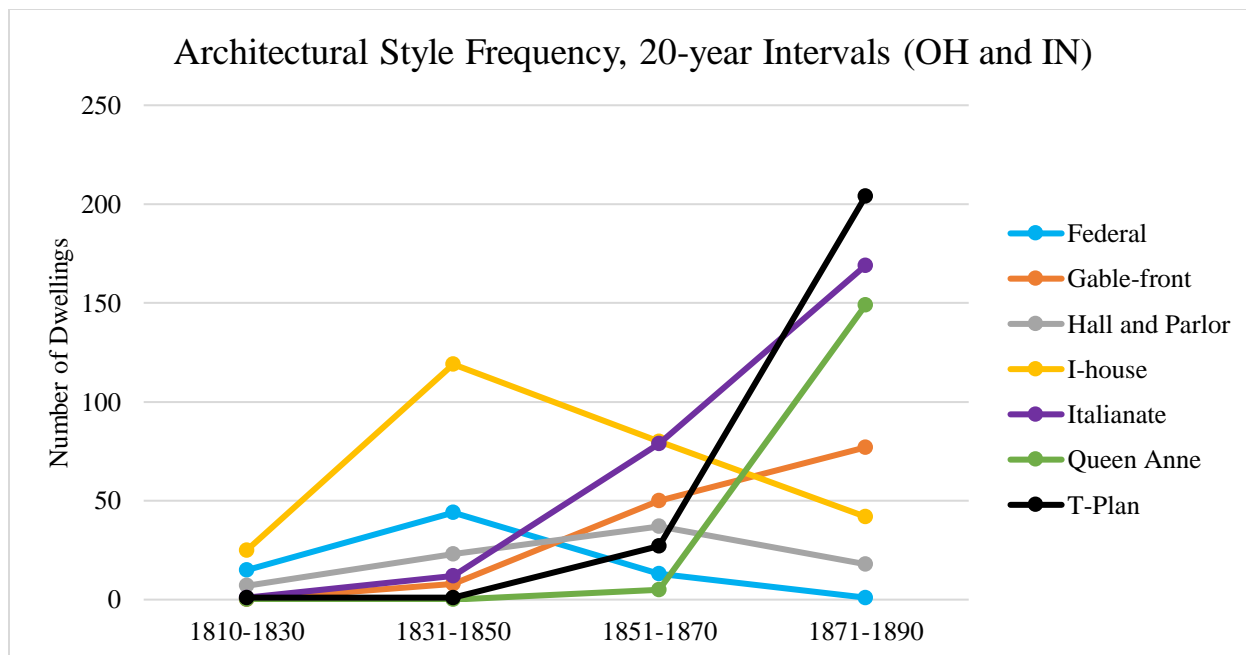


Figure 24: Architectural Style Frequency, 20-year Intervals (OH and IN)

Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials

In this sample as a whole, the most common construction material was brick, and that was most often manifested as Greek Revival architecture. Beyond that, there were equal occurrences of brick in Italianate, Gothic Revival, I-house, and T-plan dwellings. Log was the second most common construction material, and it was manifested as Hall and Parlor architecture, and Single-pen structures. The combination of stone and brick construction was most commonly found in Italianate structures (see Table 17).

Table 17: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (OH and IN, entire sample)

Construction Material (entire sample-in order of frequency; most frequent first)	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	I-house; Federal
weatherboard	Greek Revival; (the rest were all equal in quantity) Italianate; Gothic Revival; I-house; T-plan
log	Hall and Parlor; Single-pen
stone and brick	Italianate

Between 1810 and 1830, brick was, again, the most common construction material, and in this period, it manifested most often in Federal style architecture. Log structures were most commonly Hall and Parlor, and Single-pen (see Table 18).

Table 18: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (OH and IN, 1810-1830)

Construction Material 1810-1830	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	Federal
log	Hall and Parlor; Single-pen

Brick was the most commonly used construction material between 1831 and 1850 as well, and was found in both I-houses and Federal structures. Log structures were most commonly Hall and Parlor, Pioneer, and Single-pen. The most common architectural style found among weatherboard structures in this period was Greek Revival (see Table 19).

Table 19: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (OH and IN, 1831-1850)

Construction Material 1831-1850	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	I-house; Federal
log	Hall and Parlor; Pioneer; Single-pen
weatherboard	Greek Revival

Continuing the trend, brick was again the most common construction material between 1851 and 1870, appearing most often in Greek Revival houses, I-houses, and Late Victorian-style dwellings. Weatherboard appeared most often on Gothic Revival structures. Houses built from a combination of stone and brick were most commonly Italianate. Log structures, again, were most frequently Hall and Parlor style (see Table 20).

Table 20: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (OH and IN, 1851-1870)

Construction Material 1851-1870	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	Greek Revival; I-house; Late Victorian
weatherboard	Gothic Revival
stone and brick	Italianate
log	Hall and Parlor

Between 1871 and 1890, the most common construction material was brick, and it was most often manifested in Italianate structures, with fewer, but equal, instances in Second Empire, I-house, and Queen Anne structures. The most common weatherboard structures were T-plan and Italianate style (see Table 21). Of the sites that could not be categorized by twenty-year intervals, brick was the only construction material and it most commonly appeared as I-house structures.

Table 21: Frequency of Architectural Style among Building Materials (OH and IN, 1871-1890)

Construction Material 1871-1890	Most commonly appeared as:
brick	Italianate; (the rest are equal) Second Empire; I-house; Queen Anne
weatherboard	T-plan; Italianate

Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles

Considering this sample in its entirety, the most common architectural style was Carpenter/Builder, and this most often manifested as weatherboard structures. Federal style and Gable-front structures were the next most common, and appeared as brick structures. Hall and Parlor dwellings were most often log-constructed. I-houses, Italianate, and Queen Anne structures were the next most common, and were found frequently as brick structures. Lastly, T-plan structures manifested commonly as weatherboard dwellings (see Table 22).

Table 22: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (OH and IN, entire sample)

Architectural Style (entire sample-in order of frequency; most frequent first)	Most commonly appeared as:
Carpenter/Builder	weatherboard
Federal	brick
Gable-front	brick
Hall and Parlor	log
I-house	brick
Italianate	brick
Queen Anne	brick
T-plan	weatherboard

Between 1810 and 1830, Federal structures were most common (among those entries with an associated construction material) and manifested as brick dwellings. Hall and Parlor structures were also popular and appeared as log houses (see Table 23).

Table 23: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (OH and IN, 1810-1830)

Architectural style 1810-1830	Most commonly appeared as:
Federal	brick
Hall and Parlor	log

I-houses were the most common structure between 1831 and 1850, and were found most often as brick-constructed dwellings. Federal structures were also brick constructed during this period. Again, Hall and Parlor architecture was most commonly log-constructed. Lastly, Italianate architecture had begun to gain popularity by this period, and was most often manifested as brick structures (see Table 24).

Table 24: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (OH and IN, 1831-1850)

Architectural Style 1831-1850	Most commonly appeared as:
I-house	brick
Federal	brick
Hall and Parlor	log
Italianate	brick

I-houses were again the most popular between 1851 and 1870, and appeared most often as brick dwellings. Italianate and Greek Revival homes were also common as brick structures (see Table 25).

Table 25: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (OH and IN, 1851-1870)

Architectural Style 1851-1870	Most commonly appeared as:
I-house	brick
Italianate	brick
Greek Revival	brick

By 1871-1890, T-plan structures had become the most common, and they most often manifested as weatherboard structures. Italianate and Queen Anne-style dwellings were also popular and were documented as brick structures (see Table 26).

Table 26: Frequency of Building Materials among Architectural Styles (OH and IN, 1871-1890)

Architectural style 1871-1890	Most commonly appeared as:
T-plan	weatherboard
Italianate	brick
Queen Anne	brick

Chimney Attributes: Location

Although there were more sites in Ohio and Indiana from which to determine architectural style, there were actually fewer from which the location, quantity, and construction material of the chimneys could be determined (again, see Chapter 5 for further explanation). In the entire dataset, there were only 39 cases for which the location of the chimney(s) could be determined (see Figure 25). There was also less diversity in the location of chimneys than in the Virginia and West Virginia sample. The following chimney locations were identified: central, end, external end, and internal end. Overwhelmingly, in this sample, the chimneys were internal end chimneys (69.23% of the sample). An additional 15.38% of chimneys were end chimneys that could not be determined to be internal or external. There were two instances of external end chimneys (5.12%), a notable difference from the Virginia and West Virginia sample, in which the bulk of chimneys were external end in location.

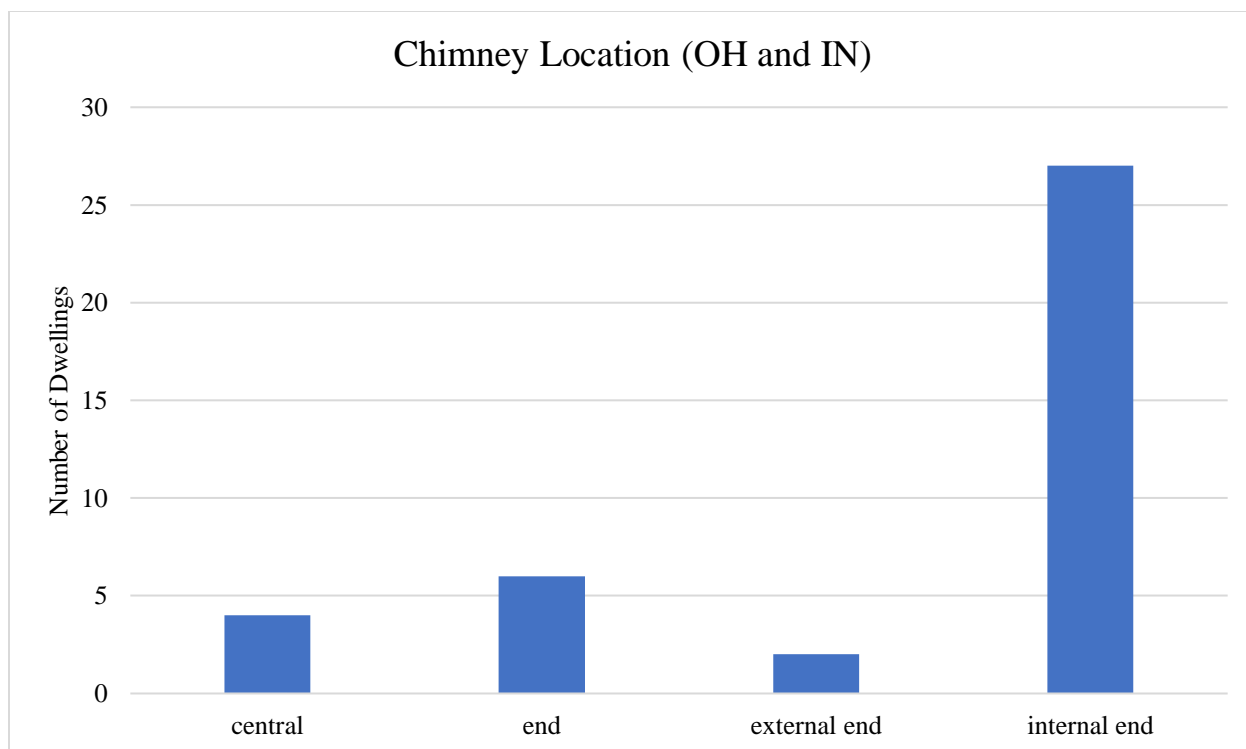


Figure 25: Chimney Location (OH and IN)

Only eight sites had identifiable chimneys between 1810 and 1830, 6 of which were internal end chimneys. The remaining two were simply end chimneys, with their status as internal or external being indeterminate. Between 1831 and 1850 (n=19 sites), internal end chimneys were again the most common, comprising 73.68% of this sample. There were also central chimneys (15.79%) and unspecified end chimneys (10.53%). Internal end chimneys dominated the period between 1851 and 1870 as well, comprising 55.56% of this sample (n=9 sites). There were equal occurrences of external end and unspecified end chimneys, at 22.22% each. There were only two sites with determinable chimney locations between the years of 1871 and 1890 in this sample. One site was identified as having internal end chimneys, and the other as having a central chimney. Only one chimney location was determined in the indeterminate

category outside of the twenty-year intervals, and it was documented as having internal end chimneys (see Figure 26).

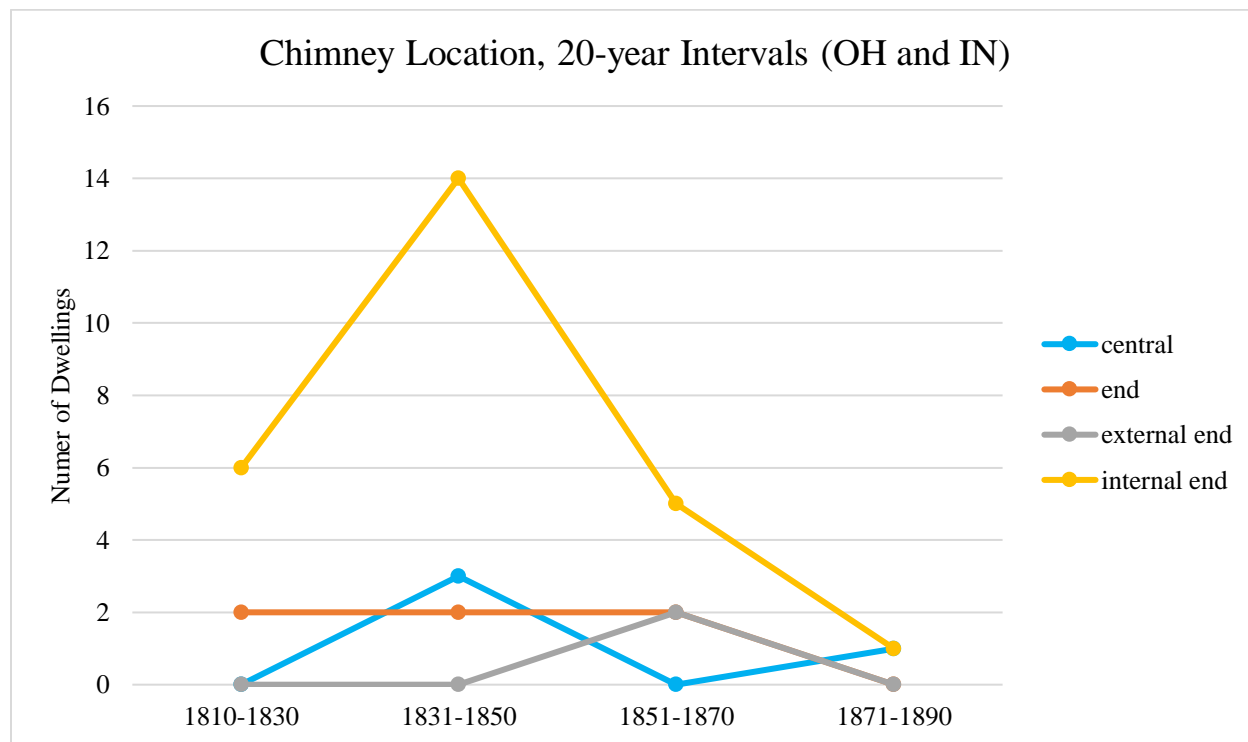


Figure 26: Chimney Location, 20-year Intervals (OH and IN)

Chimney Attributes: Quantity

There was less diversity in quantity of chimneys in the Ohio and Indiana sample as well. Sites were identified as having 1, 2, 4, or 1, possibly 2 chimneys (see above for an explanation of the rationale behind this designation). In the sample (n=38 sites), the majority of sites were noted as having two chimneys (63.16% of the sample). An additional 23.68% of the sample had a singular chimney. There were four instances (10.53%) of structures with one, possibly two chimneys, and only one instance of a structure with four chimneys (see Figure 27).

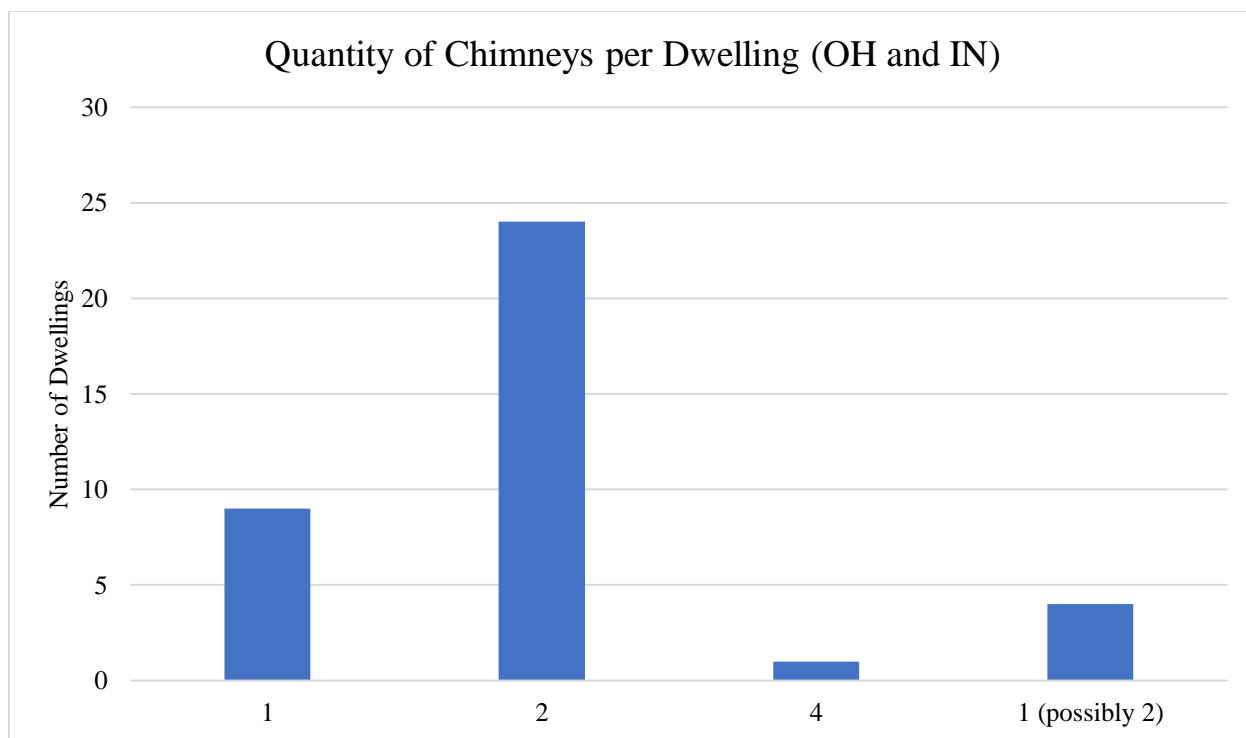


Figure 27: Quantity of Chimneys per Dwelling (OH and IN)

62.5% of structures built between 1810 and 1830 were noted as having two chimneys. A quarter of sites in this sample (of 8 sites) had only one chimney. There was only one instance of a structure that had one-possibly two chimneys. Between 1831 and 1850, 18 sites were documented, and 66.67% of those had two chimneys. 27.78% of sites were documented as having only one chimney. There was, again, only one instance of a structure with one, possibly two chimneys. Between 1851 and 1870, 55.56% of the structures had two chimneys, with an additional 22.22% being classified as having one-possibly two chimneys. Dwellings with one and with four chimneys occurred only once each, respectively comprising 11.11% of the sample. There were only two dwellings dating between 1871 and 1890 at which the quantity of chimneys could be determined, and there was one instance of a singular chimney, and one instance of two

chimneys. Further, there was only one site with a determinable number of chimneys that could not be grouped into a 20-year interval, and that site had two chimneys (see Figure 28).

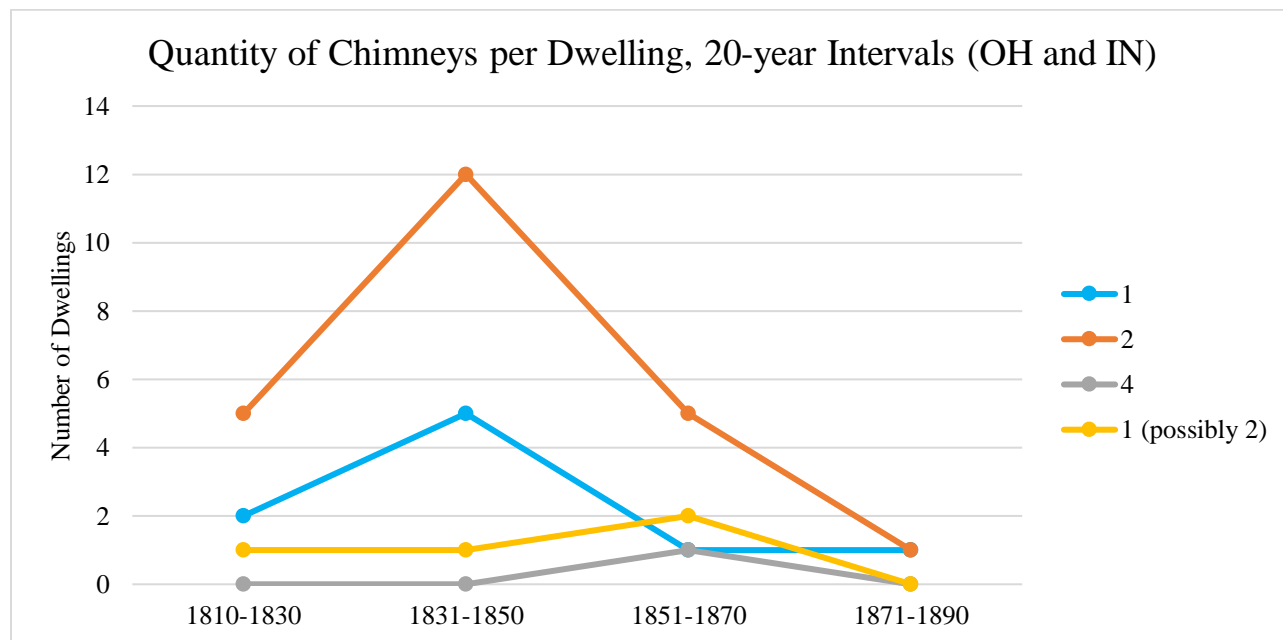


Figure 28: Quantity of Chimneys per Dwelling, 20-year Intervals (OH and IN)

Chimney Attributes: Construction Material

Only 31 sites in this region had chimneys for which the construction material could be determined (see Figure 29). Overwhelmingly, 96.77% of those were made of brick, and the only other instance was a stone constructed chimney. This stone chimney was found between 1810 and 1830. All other decade designations consisted of only brick-constructed chimneys (see Figure 30).

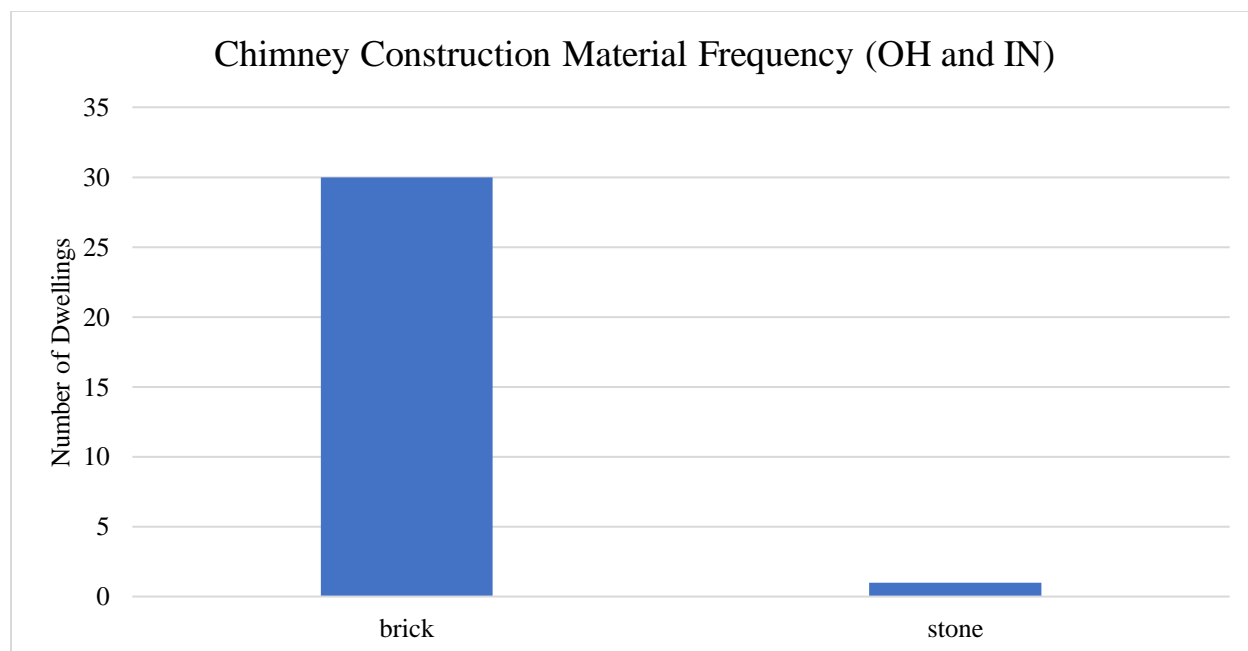


Figure 29: Chimney Construction Material Frequency (OH and IN)

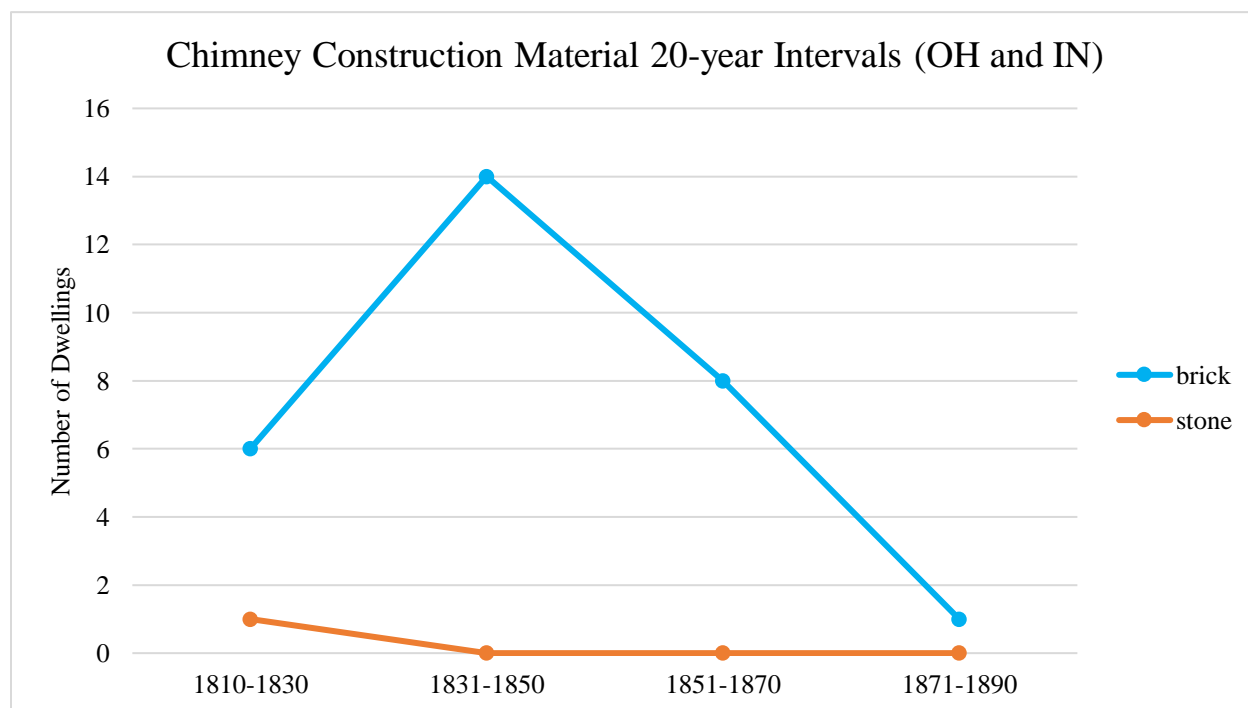


Figure 30: Chimney Construction Material, 20-year Intervals (OH and IN)

Succinct Review of Architectural Results

Virginia and West Virginia

As have been indicated by the graphs and discussion above, the most common construction material for domestic structures in the Virginia and West Virginia sample was brick, comprising 47.46%. It is important to note that brick only became most common material in the second half of the temporal period, which illustrates the transition from pioneer to agrarian society that was taking place in the Shenandoah Valley during these eighty years. The most common architectural style was the I-house, representing 24.36% of this sample. Again, when this data is viewed over time, I-houses only became the most popular style in the second half of the time range, 1791-1803. This is likely reflective of what Chappell describes as the take-over of I-house style structures in the Shenandoah Valley, proliferating and discouraging other styles, namely any ethnic-inspired styles, except for English designs (Chappell 1986:27-28).

Most sites identified had external end chimneys, and this was very nearly followed by the sites with internal end chimneys. These styles alternated in popularity across the time range of this sample, but central chimneys only rivaled the two styles of end chimneys in the first twenty years. Again, this likely reflects Chappell's idea of the efflorescence of I-houses in the region, because while I-houses can have central chimneys, archetypically they do not (Chappell 1986:27-28; HLF 1998:xix-xx). Over half of the structures in this sample had two chimneys, and an additional quarter of the sample had only one. Initially, there were an equal number of single and double-chimney dwellings, but double-chimney dwellings claimed and maintained the majority for the remaining 60 years of the sample. Overwhelmingly, brick constructed chimneys were the most common in this architectural sample. And they were dominant across the time

range. The only decline in the total is reflective of a decline in the overall sample size but brick was still most represented.

Ohio and Indiana

Significantly, over half the structures in this sample were brick-constructed (63.45%). Only 18.62% were weatherboard structures, and other construction materials were represented in much smaller percentages. Unlike the Virginia and West Virginia sample, however, brick was the most common construction material across the entire time span of this architectural sample, and by a significant margin. There were a wide array of architectural styles represented in the Ohio and Indiana sample. I-houses, again, were the most common, but only by a very narrow margin, followed closely in popularity by Italianate architecture. It is important to note, that this popularity is different when viewed over time. During the twenty-year segment in which James and Sophia Clemens would have constructed their I-house, this style of dwelling was the most popular by a significant margin—39.67% of the sample, compared to the next most represented style, Federal, at only 14.67%.

Overwhelmingly, the chimneys in this sample were internal end chimneys (69.23%). This high frequency of internal end chimneys is consistent across the time sample until the final twenty-year interval, however the down-trend in internal end chimneys is associated with a low quantity of sites with this information available, rather than an objectively lower occurrence of this attribute. More than half of the sample with identifiable chimney attributes had two chimneys (63.16%), followed in frequency by dwellings with only a singular chimney (23.68%). As was the case with chimney location, two-chimney dwellings were the most represented across all time designations until the final twenty-year interval, but again, this correlates more with a low-quantity of attribute information here, rather than a decrease in popularity. Lastly, there were

only two chimney construction materials identified in the Midwest sample: brick and stone. Overwhelmingly, brick was the most common chimney construction material (96.77% of the sample. In fact, only one stone chimney was identified out of thirty-one sites with that information available.

Federal I-house Sub-Analysis

Considering the results presented above, I further analyzed the assembled datasets to look for sites identified as I-houses with subsequent notation of Federal-style detailing. The Clemens farmhouse is a brick-constructed I-house with Federal-style detailing and two, internal end brick chimneys. Generally, the I-house is a more vernacular architectural style, while styles such as Federal are more planned, and it is not uncommon for I-houses to incorporate other stylistic details (HLFI 1998:xix-xx; refer back to Chapter 4 for discussion on these architectural styles). The Federal features identified on the Clemens farmhouse include a detailed, decorated roofline; remnants of a columned portico over the front door; a glass transom feature above the front door; and elongated windows across the front façade.

Considering these features, I further filtered the data to see if meaningful results could be gathered by determining if any other identified architectural sites had both I-house and Federal classifications. I only identified one site in the Virginia and West Virginia architectural sample specifically as a Federal-style I-house. This site is known as Lethe and was constructed in 1760. This structure is brick, and has two internal end chimneys, also made of brick (Terrell 1970:41-42). Lethe is located in Rockingham County, Virginia, and each of these attributes are also present in the Clemens farmhouse. Further, Lethe is described as having a columned portico on its front façade, a central hallway, and being English-inspired architecture (Terrell 1970:41-42).

There were 142 sites in the Ohio and Indiana sample that were specifically identified as “I-house, Federal.” Each of those sites for which there was a documented construction material (n=11 sites) were brick constructed. The peak frequency (97 of 142 sites or 68.31%) of this style and form combination occurred between 1831 and 1850, which is the timeframe in which the Clemens farmhouse was constructed. Furthermore, of the 8 sites at which the number of chimneys was determinable, 7 of them had 2 chimneys, all of which were internal end chimneys, constructed of brick. It would seem, then, that the Clemens’ architecture was not as anomalous in its time and place as I thought it would be. That does not mean, however, that their decision to construct their brick I-house was not an exercise in agency.

Of these properties in the Ohio and Indiana sample (n=142 sites), owners for 12 dwellings were confidently connected with historic figures from the 19th century in this region using county histories and National Register of Historic Places records for Darke County, Ohio and Randolph and Wayne Counties, Indiana (ISPC 1884; Smothers 2000; Tucker 1882). Of those twelve, only the Clemens farm was associated with a family of color. I will concede that race was not explicitly stated in the biographical sketches or career summaries of these men, however generally, 19th century histories only listed the racial classification of an individual when they were non-white, and I have applied that assumption here. This result, then, takes my hypothesis that James and Sophia Clemens were reconstructing the Southern planter landscape on their farmstead and presents an alternative. Alternatively, they were incorporating their domestic built environment into that of the successful whites around them. Perhaps those white settlers were recreating the successful Southern planter landscape, and if so, it is interesting to place the Clemens and other affluent, non-white individuals alongside them, creating a similar landscape despite their significantly different heritage.

The significance and interpretation of the architecture and the Clemens' intentionally constructed landscape will be discussed in Chapter 7. Considering the material decision of the house construction, it is also important here to juxtapose the architectural data within the extant archaeological data from excavations at the Clemens farm site to create a holistic picture of their material culture and agency (for specifics of excavations see Chapter 4 and Clark et al. 2017).

Review of Extant Archaeological Assemblage

Domestic architecture is not the only way in which individuals can exercise material agency. As was illustrated by the diverse archaeological assemblages addressed in Chapter 4, agency can be seen in the archaeological remains of human activity. Below is a summary of the ceramic and faunal assemblages excavated at the Clemens farm site, with a discussion of my interpretation of those results in association with the architectural results to follow in Chapter 7.

Ceramics

Generally, ceramics in Victorian America can be roughly divided into utilitarian and decorative ceramics. Utilitarian ceramics are more sturdy and durable than decorative ceramics, and they are also often more plain aesthetically. Decorative ceramics, then, are less durable, but intentionally decorated and made to be pleasing to the eye. Ceramic types recovered from the Clemens farm site include porcelain, redware, stoneware, whiteware, and yellowware—all of which are temporally consistent with the Clemens site occupation (MNIs were not recorded). Only 6 sherds identifiable as porcelain were recovered, and porcelain is generally accepted as a more refined, higher-quality, and more expensive ceramic.

Redware, however, was found in 32 separate contexts on site, totaling 125 sherds. This ceramic is more characteristic of the Ridge and Valley Region of the Eastern Woodlands than it

is of the Midwest and elsewhere (Groover 2003:298; Smith and Rogers 1979). Furthermore, it is lower quality and more inexpensive than other ceramics. Stoneware was found in 23 proveniences at the Clemens farm, and totaled 47 sherds. Stoneware is a durable ceramic, which can be decorated, but is often undecorated, and occurs frequently in a grey color. By far the most frequently occurring ceramic was whiteware, appearing in 81 separate proveniences, totaling 280 sherds. Whiteware is a more delicate ceramic than stoneware, for example, but it is more sturdy and commonplace than porcelain would have been, especially in the Victorian U.S. This ceramic type further straddles the line between utilitarian and decorative ceramics because it can be delicately patterned in one or more colors, or it can simply be a white, glazed ceramic. In this case, 226 of the sherds were undecorated. It is important to note, however, that an undecorated sherd could have come from the center of a vessel (i.e. a plate) which was only decorated on its edges. The remaining sherds of whiteware either had some sort of hand-painted or transfer-printed design on them. Lastly, there were 13 proveniences in which yellowware was found, coming to a total of 25 sherds.

Faunal

Excavations at the Clemens farm revealed 54 proveniences which contained faunal remains, totaling 158 bone fragments. The make-up of this assemblage was discussed by Mark Groover and Tyler Wolford (2013). They presented the faunal assemblage, which at the species level indicates that the most commonly occurring bone was pig, followed by cattle (Groover and Wolford 2013:144). The agricultural census data indicates that swine were the most abundant livestock on the Clemens farm at the time of the enumerations, so it follows that there would be a significant presence of this material (USBC 1850 and 1860 [agricultural]). There were also remains of non-domestic animals, including deer, rabbits, birds, and fish, which potentially

indicate hunting for food resources, rather than relying solely on commercially available cuts of meat, or their own livestock herds (Groover and Wolford 2013:144).

Now, Chapter 7 will address the connections between the documentary evidence, architectural data, and archaeological assemblages as they relate to the Clemens farm. I will present my interpretations and conclusions regarding these data.

Chapter 7:

Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

“...*buildings*, although inherently interesting, *cannot be studied in isolation*. They are also part of broader contexts that can critically affect our final interpretation of them. Cultural products of the time in which they were built and altered, buildings also exist within the spatial, physical context of their surrounding landscapes” (Lanier and Herman 1997:7; emphasis added).

Interpretation of Results, Discussion, and Conclusions

If all the most common architectural attributes in this Virginia and West Virginia sample are combined, they create the image of a brick-constructed I-house with two, brick, external end chimneys—an image not unlike the Clemens farmhouse, except that the Clemens farm has internal end chimneys. However, during the period in which James and Sophia moved to Ohio, the most common chimneys were internal end as well. From this, it would be easy to say that the Clemens farmhouse is an architectural product of the region from which James and Sophia immigrated. However, when the most common architectural attributes for the Midwestern sample are combined, a similar image takes shape: a brick-constructed I-house with two, brick, internal end chimneys. Those are the categories for the Clemens farmhouse exactly.

This then indicates that the Clemens farmhouse, as a brick-constructed I-house, is not an architectural anomaly as my hypothesis predicted it would be. While it may have been reflective of a Southern planter landscape, the Clemens were in no way the only individuals recreating this landscape in the region. Referring back to the Federal I-house sub analysis presented in Chapter 6, the Clemens farm is also not anomalous as a Federal-detailed, I-house in my sample region of the Midwest. I argue, however, that the Clemens’ construction of their brick I-house with Federal details on the Midwestern landscape was still an agential decision. The other owners of

Midwestern, brick-constructed, Federal I-houses in this sample region, who could be identified, were middle- to upper-class white farmers.

Of the 142 identified Federal detailed I-houses in the Ohio and Indiana sample, 12 properties were able to be connected with a known family in the associated community via county histories (ISPC 1884; Tucker 1884). Of those families, only the Clemens farmhouse was owned by free people of color. All others were owned by white pioneering settlers. My research idea had been that a brick-constructed I-house was a rarity on the Midwestern farm landscape, and rather, reflected the Southern planter landscape from which the Clemens came. It is evident now, though, that if the Clemens were reconstructing this landscape, then so were their contemporaries. It is an interesting thought, and one that suggests agency, that the Clemens and other non-white brick I-house owners such as Chief Richardville a Miami Indian, would have been reconstructing the affluent Eastern United States landscape alongside their white contemporaries, using the material culture of architecture to display success on the frontier (Headings et al. 1996).

This idea of reconstructing the landscape of success around them and broadcasting their personal successes through their architecture suggests agency in assimilation. It suggests agency in aspiring to, and attaining an upper-class status and constructing a built environment not only reflective of personal successes, but mainstream settler colonial success in general. Now I'll consider their domestic material culture, recovered archaeologically, as another component of this agency in assimilation. Reconsidering the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this research, I sought to identify material agency on the part of James and Sophia Clemens via what has been interpreted as minimalistic domestic material culture (Groover and Wolford 2013). Upon exploration of this further, I offer a slightly different interpretation of the material culture

from the Clemens farm, both archaeologically and architecturally. Rather than being agential because they were waving off the material culture of dominant society in the Antebellum Midwest, the Clemens were agential in that they assimilated into that dominant culture in their daily lives.

In discussing Native Americans in New England, Guido Pezzarossi makes the argument that if an archaeological assemblage (in that case, ceramics specifically) is not unexpected or anomalous, but in a minority context, it can itself be an indicator of agency (Pezzarossi 2014). He argues that the establishment of a domestic material life no different from the white mainstream society of the time is indicative of “...*active, knowledgeable, and strategic engagement* with and participation in the practices and materialities...” of their society (Pezzarossi 2014:148; emphasis added). Rather than looking at this phenomenon as forced acculturation, Pezzarossi addresses it as intentional assimilation in order to make the most of opportunities available within an oppressive system (2014:157-158).

First, I'll address the faunal remains from the Clemens farm excavations. When analyzed, this site revealed pig as the most common animal. A predominance of pork is reflective of both an Upland South diet and the subsistence patterns of settler colonials in the Midwest, and thus is not unexpected (Groover and Wolford 2013; Peres 2008; also illustrated by Major 1908:11). The agricultural census data indicates pigs as a primary aspect of the Clemens farm operations, with 50 head of swine in 1850 and 40 head in 1860, and the bones were indicative of butchering on-site (Groover and Wolford 2013:144; USBC 1850 and 1860 [agricultural]). They also consumed beef, but their faunal assemblage included additional wild species such as deer, rabbits, birds, and fish (Groover and Wolford 2013:144). This has been interpreted as agential and anomalous because of the use of wild game to supplement the household diet rather than a full reliance on

domesticates (Groover and Wolford 2013). Looking at contemporary sites presented by Tanya Peres, however, here I present this faunal assemblage as a similar case to that of Pezzarossi's ceramic assemblage—intentional assimilation by means of materiality (Peres 2008; Pezzarossi 2014).

Peres' study explores the faunal remains of four sites in Kentucky from rural residences with varying socio-economic statuses, all dating between 1817-1870 (Peres 2008). The analyzed materials came from an enslaved context, a middle-class farm, and two upper-class slave-owning contexts (Peres 2008:90-93). Of particular interest here, are the results of the William Whitely site in Kentucky, which was a slave-owning agricultural site with a comparable real estate value to that of the Clemens (Peres 2008:92). This site was owned and operated by the Ephraim Pennington household in 1860, when their real estate was valued at \$29,200, with their personal property valued at \$19,115 (Peres 2008:92). In this same agricultural census enumeration, the Clemens' real estate was valued at \$21,000 with \$1,000 in personal property (USBC 1860 [agricultural]; to follow in the discussion of ceramics, the disparity in personal wealth outside of real estate will be addressed). I have chosen to compare the faunal assemblages of these two sites because in terms of property they were similarly valuable. The Whitely site had pig comprising the majority of the food remains, as did the Clemens, but even with significant financial wealth, there were also non-domesticated species identified in the fauna from the Whitely site (Peres 2008:96-97). Charles Major illustrated this settler colonial combination of food sources in his 1908 novel *The Bears of Blue River*, "[t]he daily food of the family all came from the farm, the forest, or the creek....their meat was supplied in the greatest abundance by a few hogs, and by the inexhaustible game of which the forests were full" (Major 1908:11). Considering this, it can be argued that rather than the presence of wild game being an anomaly at the Clemens farm, the

supplementation of domesticated meats with wild game serves as another facet of agency by assimilation, and a general attitude of frugality that was present across pioneering settlements, even after they were well-established.

This idea of assimilation is not as clear in the ceramic assemblage, however, which is not as reflective of assimilation into upper-class society as the example provided by Pezzarossi regarding Native Americans in New England (2014). I would tie this back to the difference in personal wealth—wealth outside of real estate holdings—between the Clemens farm and that of the Whitely site, discussed above. The Pennington family at the Whitely site possessed a personal wealth equal to about two-thirds of their landholdings, while the Clemens farm was operating on \$20,000 less in personal property wealth outside of landholdings, which speaks to the accessibility of their wealth (Pezzarossi 2014:92; USBC 1860 [population]). This also further speaks to the narrative of system racism as a structure in which the Clemens were operating. The state of Ohio allowed free individuals of color to purchase and own land, however, that did not automatically grant them success in the larger economy, and the Clemens still faced legislative and social restrictions on their activities as members of mainstream Midwest society. It is possible, of course, that decorative ceramics were treated with more care in everyday life than utilitarian ceramics were, resulting in less breakage to constitute the archaeological record. It is also possible that high-end decorative ceramics and porcelains were passed down generationally—or sold—both of which would remove them from the archaeological record. I would counter that, however, by reflecting back on the probate documents associated with James and Sophia Clemens' estate, for which no valued family ceramics were listed among the household assets.

From the hypothesis and research questions I presented in Chapter 1, I set out to show James and Sophia Clemens' material agency by way of creating a built environment anomalous in their area. Instead, what I have found here was material agency in intentional and calculated conformity, material agency in becoming part of the dominant society despite racial limitations, and agency in doing all of these things successfully.



Figure 31: The Clemens farmhouse and English barn. Image acquired from webapp2.wright.edu with permission from the Assistant Director of Public Relations and the Wright State University Magazine, 30 March 2017.

Suggestions for Further Research

The following thoughts on future research related to the Clemens farm and its associated subjects will begin with the most specific ideas relating to the Clemens themselves, and gradually shift toward more general topics relating to larger-scale issues. If possible, more study into the agency of Sophia Clemens specifically would be beneficial to the overall narrative. The historic record is largely silent about her, as can be seen through the records provided here,

however, she too would have been an active part of this household and an agent within capitalism and systemic racism.

In their 2013 article, Groover and Wolford address the phenomenon of intergenerational landscape change at the Clemens farm based on archaeological and historic records. Groover notes that every new group to live on a houselot, or farmstead, changes things, creates something new, deposits distinctive material culture, and leaves their mark on the built landscape (2004). This phenomenon is referred to as “household succession” and “is a major event in the life history of rural residents and houselots” (Groover 2004:25). Between the 1850s and early 1900s, the Clemens farm shifted ownership from the Clemens to the Goins, families, and this social change is also reflected in the material culture (Groover and Wolford 2013:139-142).

The Clemens to Goins shift was one of a continuing familial line. Ownership transitioned from James and Sophia Clemens to one of their daughters and her husband (named Goins). The material agency of the Clemens extended beyond their dwelling and into the farm lot that they constructed around their dwelling. Even this was relatively minimal during James and Sophia Clemens’ occupation of the site. During their occupation, the built environment included the brick-constructed I-house, a summer kitchen, a smoke house, and a spring house, with a relatively clean yard space (Groover and Wolford 2013:140). Features and artifacts dating to the later occupation of the site were much more spread out during the second occupation. There were more outbuildings, a significant driveway, a much larger midden, resulting in a less-clean yard space, and the house itself had been added to (Groover and Wolford 2013:141). As the use of space between generations has been interpreted as being different, I think that further exploration into the agency of the second generation, through their material life at the home, but also in the community would be important. That generation was further removed from slavery than their

parents, living in a time of rapidly developing technologies, and a part of different social movements and would have experienced different situations in which to exercise agency.

Further research exploring the access of free people of color to farming equipment, customers for agricultural products, and markets would also help to illustrate this type of narrative. Although the Clemens were successful in cultivating and selling their farm products, it is likely that not all pioneers of color had that experience. While purchasing land was legal, that may not have been the largest impediment to succeeding in agriculture beyond subsistence farming.

In the community of Longtown, I think further archaeological exploration is important to creating the most meaningful narrative for this unique community. Through the efforts of the Union Literary Institute Preservation Society, there is a significant amount of extant documentation and this refuge community has not been forgotten to history. The Clemens farm illustrates a fascinating case of the successes that were possible in such a community during the Antebellum period, but as census records indicate, they were really the exception rather than the rule. Archaeological excavation at a different farmstead in the Longtown community could reveal the material culture of an average family of free people of color. Families who, perhaps, were unable to purchase hundreds of acres of farmland initially, and who had to make the best of the resources they had access to.

As was indicated by Donald Ball in his article “A Home in the Heartland,” some individuals moved out of Longtown, Ohio into Randolph County, Indiana and operated a similar settlement of free people of color (Ball 1996:46; see also Rotman et al. 1998). That community was reported to have faced hardship due to state and federal legislation in the 1850s and 60s, which resulted in the movement of many individuals of color further North into Michigan and

Canada (Rotman et al. 1998: 55-56). This was the time period during which the Clemens' farm was at its agricultural peak, and further research to explore why there where such different experiences just a few miles apart would be informative.

Additional architectural study could explore the I-house further in terms of its possible significance and symbolism as an architectural form. The Clemens' home was a stop on the Underground Railroad, and a brick-constructed I-house, the home of famed Quaker abolitionist Levi Coffin in Wayne County, Indiana was also a brick-constructed I-house (Mendinghall 1975). Furthermore, an exploration into the Underground Railroad history of this community would be important, not just James and Sophia Clemens' role, but any nearby Quaker influence and the role of the community as a whole, and whether this was just a stop for individuals on their way northward or if new arrivals were interested in staying and becoming a part of the Longtown community.

In the same vein, it would be fascinating to see a comparative study addressing the ways that agency was exercised in disparate refuge communities during the Antebellum period. The Midwest was in no way the only region in which such communities formed, and a study focusing on the agency of the individuals within these contexts through their material culture, and social agency through documentary evidence when possible, could reveal an important and informative narrative. Sites such as New Philadelphia and Lick Creek, as addressed earlier in this research, as well as other refuge communities along the Underground Railroad in both the United States and Canada likely all have unique histories of agential individuals (Fennell 2011, Laswell 2008, and Shackel 2010).

In terms of identity, further research into intentional assimilation through materiality could be addressed along the lines of what it meant to be an American at that time, and why

individuals were striving for such an ideal. A generation of individuals born in America, not in the British colonies, people developed ideas of what it meant to be a part of that republic, "...the perception of opportunity, the wisdom of risk taking, the profitability of new ideas, and the soundness of democracy" (Armstead 2012:1). Despite systemic inequality, minority individuals were also pursuing this American identity when possible and in instances like the Clemens farm, creating their material lives accordingly.

I am inspired by the connection that was realized in this project between Midwestern free people of color and their past enslavement in Virginia. I think further studies able to tie enterprising Midwestern free people of color to their Southeastern pasts could create a fascinating narrative of westward migration that runs temporally parallel to white settlement of those lands. Rather than simply being a story of Euro-Americans blazing trails westward, there is another narrative here. A narrative of newly gained freedom and opportunity in unknown lands, which presented their own structural challenges socially and economically. The Clemens' story is unique in that there is such an abundance of historic documentation, so this kind of before-and-after study will not be possible for all sites in the Midwest associated with free people of color. That aside, I think more specific stories illustrated in this way would strengthen the overall narrative of agency in this area of study.

Considering that, however, in moving westward and participating in settler colonial lifeways, the Clemens were also contributors in the acquisition of lands that belonged to indigenous peoples. The narrative is contradictory in that the Clemens and Longtown worked to create a safe haven and to assist individuals operating within repressive systems of power, and yet were still participating in the larger process of removing Native American populations from their land. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, demographically, it is believed that some residents of

Longtown likely had Native American ancestors, but there is not evidence that there was a tribal affiliation in the community or that it was specifically a refuge for Native Americans in the same way that it was for formally enslaved people of color (Ball 1996:45; Du Bois 1909:354). This illustrates yet another facet of site worthy of noting. While the Clemens were a part of a disenfranchised group of people with significant barriers to overcome, they were also participants in the settler colonial expansion of the United States westward as it removed Native Americans from their property and took away their rights to that land.

Today, leaving all these avenues for further research open, the Clemens farm site has provided extensive historic documentation, architectural data, and archaeological material culture. It has represented the legacy of James and Sophia Clemens well, and told their story. As has been shown here, the Clemens farmhouse is not truly empty—it resonates with the past lives of enterprising individuals who claimed their stake on the United States frontier despite systemic structures working against them all the while.

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